

**Schooling and Pastoralists' Livelihoods:
A Tanzanian Case-Study**

Elizabeth Bishop

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the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

Previous research on education amongst pastoralists has concentrated mainly on the reasons for their comparatively low rates of enrolment and attainment. This thesis examines education in pastoralist areas more critically. It is based on fourteen months of fieldwork carried out between 2003 and 2006 in a predominantly agro-pastoralist Maasai area in Monduli District in northern Tanzania. Quantitative and qualitative data are used to explore the nature of the schooling process and the ways in which schooling has influenced pastoralism and pastoralists' livelihoods. Theoretical approaches which view schooling as a diverse collection of socially situated practices embedded in a local context, as well as approaches which see 'development' as a discursive practice, are drawn on. Various actors have shaped the schooling process, including the Tanzanian government, teachers, non-Maasai in-migrants, and Maasai. The results of this process are shown to have been affected by discursive contestations, mediated by local constraints and opportunities.

The schooling process in pastoralist areas in Tanzania has been informed by discourses of pastoral development that are not supportive of extensive pastoralism. Involvement of Maasai children in schooling has consequently brought practical as well as ideological challenges for those trying to maintain successful and sustainable pastoralist livelihoods. This thesis argues that the schooling process in this area has influenced livelihood choices and thus the practice and viability of pastoralism.

Through examining the ideological basis, practices, and consequences of schooling, as well as through an analysis of the formulation of education policies, this thesis seeks to inform and stimulate current debate surrounding education provision for pastoralists.

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Abbreviations

ABEK	Alternative Basic Education for Karamoja
ALRMP	Arid Lands Resource Management Project
ASAL	Arid and Semi Arid Land
BEMP	Basic Education Master Plan
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
COBET	Complimentary Basic Education and Training
ECF	East Coast Fever
EFA	Education for All
GOK	Government of Kenya
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
KPF	Kenya Pastoralist Forum
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PPG	Pastoralist Parliamentary Group
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RDS	Rural Development Strategy
TLU	Tropical Livestock Units
TSh	Tanzanian Shillings
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

Glossary

Words used only once are not included in the glossary

KiSwahili words (in italics)

<i>akili</i>	intelligence
<i>askari</i> (pl. <i>askari</i>)	guard/ watchman
<i>balozi</i> (pl. <i>balozi</i>)	elected leader of a ten-cell, the smallest administrative unit of Tanzanian government.
<i>boma</i> (pl. <i>boma</i>)	Maasai residence, a collection of houses surrounded by a cattle fence
<i>kitongoji</i> (pl. <i>vitongoji</i>)	sub-village
<i>maendeleo</i>	development/ progress
<i>mwelewa</i> (pl. <i>waelewa</i>)	understanding/ enlightened person
<i>mila</i>	tradition
<i>ufugaji bora</i>	better pastoralism
<i>ukabila</i>	tribalism/ ethnic discrimination

Maa words (underlined>

Maa nouns are gendered:

e/en/eng/er: feminine singular	o/ol/or: masculine singular
i/in/ir: feminine plural	i/il/ir: masculine plural

<u>e</u>	<u>mbesi</u>	agricultural work party
<u>e</u>	<u>murrano</u>	period of being warriors
<u>e</u>	<u>ng'eno</u>	cleverness/intellect/craftiness
<u>en</u>	<u>kang/ inkangitie</u>	homestead
<u>en</u>	<u>tito/ intoyie</u>	pre-circumcision girl
<u>e</u>	<u>ramatare</u>	caring for animals (see 7.3.2.1 for more explanation)
<u>ol</u>	<u>marei/ ilmarei</u>	household
<u>ol</u>	<u>murrani/ ilmurran</u>	warrior
<u>or</u>	<u>meeki/ irmeek</u>	non-Maasai (see 6.1.1 for more explanation)

Mol's (1996) Maasai Language and Culture was often referred to throughout fieldwork.

Maasai age-sets are referred to frequently (including Irkiponi, Landiis, Ilmakaa and Iseuri). See Box 3.1 for an explanation of these age-sets.

PART ONE: FRAMING THE STUDY

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Contextualising the thesis

The world is changing, and the Maasai they are in danger, because now, what if all their land is gone, and their livestock is almost gone, very few have cattle, all gone. When we were children, our fathers had very large herds of cattle, and food was enough, people were very well fed, but nowadays, there is a problem. Many Maasai are very poor, very very poor. And now you see many men are running to the towns, and those remaining are going to live in the parts of the land which are not good, and they themselves have children and children of their children. Where will they live? The land itself does not support their cattle or themselves. I do not know where they will end up if they do not have land, and they do not have education. How will they survive? They will be gone. All of them will disappear. So it is very important that they get education.

Extract from an interview with the Maasai head-teacher at Maasae Girls Lutheran Secondary School in Monduli.

Pastoralism is a term that may be used to describe a very wide range of circumstances, from those of reindeer herding Saami in Sweden to camel herding Tuareg in West Africa, and along a continuum with highly specialised mobile pastoralism at one end, to sedentary agro-pastoralism at the other. However, some generalisations can be made about pastoralism in Africa. Pastoralists depend on livestock for a significant proportion of their food and income (see Swift 1988), although many pastoralists cultivate crops and engage in other activities. Livestock represent more than just economic assets, they are social, cultural and spiritual assets too. Pastoralists employ mobility to varying degrees as a response to temporally and spatially patchy water and forage in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs) they inhabit, which are typically remote and sparsely populated. These populations are frequently politically, socially and economically marginalised and are often minority ethnic groups seen as out of step with the nation state (Galaty & Bonte 1991).

African pastoralist areas are highly vulnerable in terms of poverty and livelihood security (Anderson and Broch-Due 1999). Evidence has accumulated to indicate that levels of poverty were increasing up to two decades ago amongst many herding communities and continue to do so (Hogg 1986, Little 1985, Potkanski 1999, McCabe

et al. 1992). These problems have resulted from factors including increasing population densities, decreasing per capita herd sizes, land alienation for agriculture and wildlife uses, and increasing commoditization of land and livestock (Rutten 1992, Zaal & Dietz 1999, Brockington 1998, Lane 1991, McCabe et al. 1992). Development efforts have also often had negative effects on pastoralists (Baxter & Hogg 1990, Fratkin 1991). Many bemoan these threats to the pastoralist way of life. However, others who view the pastoralist way of life in a more negative light, as 'backward' and counter to their visions of progress, consider its demise in its current form as inevitable and even desirable, and see the problem as the slow pace of the transformation of pastoralism and the perceived reluctance of pastoralists to change.

Education, in terms of institutionalised schooling rather than indigenous education or non-formal education, is often proposed as a solution to many of these variously conceived problems of pastoralists. During the four years I have been researching education for pastoralists I have encountered many justifications for why pastoralists need education, and many different ideas about what this education ought to achieve. However, I have found little evidence in the existing literature documenting the actual consequences of education programmes for these communities, whether beneficial or otherwise, and thus it is difficult to substantiate the many claims made about the effects of education for pastoralists' livelihoods¹.

In this chapter I will demonstrate with reference to existing literature how this thesis will advance knowledge of, and debates about, education for pastoralists.

1.2 Increased interest in education for pastoralists

There has been a recent increase in the attention education for pastoralists has received in national government (Bugeke 1997, GOK 2003, GOFN 1999, Lyimo 2003, Obura 2002), NGO and donor (Carr-Hill et al. 2005, IEC 2002, Mfum-Mensah 2003, Oxfam 2005), and academic spheres (Dyer 2001, Dyer 2006, Little et al. 2001, Krätli 2000, Krätli 2001). This increased attention is related to, amongst other things, the serious

¹ In his report on education amongst pastoralists in Turkana and Karamoja, Krätli rejected a conceptualisation of education within a Western humanistic tradition in which education is understood to be an end in itself (Krätli 2001). In doing so, he has attracted criticism for what some saw as his implied suggestion that education is not a basic Human Right (Theuss 2002). I wish to stress that I am not questioning the obligation of governments to provide all children with some sort of education to equip them to deal with the challenges they face.

challenge which pastoralists' low rates of education pose for those who wish to achieve national and international targets of "Education for All" by 2015. For example, in justifying a focus on pastoralist education, Oxfam refers to EFA targets:

Nomadic and pastoralist children still do not enjoy their right to a basic education. The 2015 Education for All target will not be achieved unless policies and resources are directed to provide these children with access to relevant, good-quality education (Oxfam 2005).

This increased interest in education for pastoralists has led to a growth in understanding of a number of issues, including reasons for their low levels of participation and attainment, the success or otherwise of various NGO projects, and the state of current provision, although very little research on what this education actually involves or the implications of schooling for pastoralists' livelihoods has been conducted.

1.2.1 Knowledge of the current state of education for pastoralists

There is a growing body of literature which assesses the state of education provision for pastoralists (Bosch et al. 2006, Carr-Hill et al. 2005, IEC 2002, Leggett 2005, VerEecke 1989). For example, the report by Carr-Hill and his team (2005) on education for nomadic communities in Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, described and assessed the current state of education provision to pastoralists in these countries.

Although recently levels of demand amongst pastoralists have been reported to be increasing (Little et al. 2004, Carr-Hill et al. 2005, Heffernan et al. 2001), pastoralist areas worldwide still commonly have rates of enrolment, girls' enrolment, retention, literacy and continuity into secondary education that represent the lowest values within countries (Krätli 2000, Maxey 2006). For example, Carr-Hill's study of six East African countries found the rates of primary school enrolment for children in pastoralist communities to be significantly below the national average in each country (Carr-Hill et al. 2005).

According to an Oxfam report, there is little evidence that pastoralist education has been sufficiently addressed through major national initiatives in any country, with the

exceptions of Uganda and Mongolia, since the World Education Forum in 1990 (Oxfam 2005). NGOs are increasingly attempting to fill this gap through implementing programmes aimed at more effectively providing education for pastoralists (for example Save the Children Norway's ABEK programme in Uganda, Nagel 2001, and Oxfam's Darfur mobile schools initiative, Oxfam 2005). Attempts that have been made to increase educational levels amongst pastoralists by governments and NGOs have included the setting up of boarding schools, mobile schools, and non-formal programmes, and modification of the curriculum and school calendar (Carr-Hill et al. 2005, Oxfam 2005).

1.2.2 Explanations for pastoralists' low levels of education

Much of the literature on education for pastoralists, whether academic, government-related, or written by NGOs, has concentrated on the reasons for their low levels of participation and attainment in education.

Many of the explanations proposed in this literature focus on the practical challenges of providing education to pastoralist populations. Pastoralist areas generally have low population densities, resulting in long distances to schools, and varying degrees of mobility amongst pastoralists make it difficult for children to attend static schools. It has also been argued that pastoralist dependence on the labour of children is not compatible with schooling. It has been noted by several authors that pastoralism in East Africa requires a much heavier commitment of labour by children than does cultivation (Rigby, 1981, cited in Sarone 1986, Kjaerby 1979). Another explanation which has been put forward is that pastoralists are often amongst the poorest groups in the countries they inhabit, and consequently parents do not have access to cash to pay for schooling costs such as uniforms and contributions to schools (Nkinyangy 1981, Oxfam 2005). In some pastoralist areas armed conflict also creates serious challenges for education provision (Carr-Hill et al. 2005). There is often a lack of teachers willing to live in the hard conditions found in these areas, resulting in teacher shortages as well as poor teacher motivation (CORDS electronic citation, Oxfam 2005).

Explanations focussing on pastoralists' attitudes and values have also been common. In the 1970s and 1980s it was often argued that pastoralists did not value western education (Ndagala, 1974, Ole Saibull, 1974, all cited in Sarone 1984, Parkipuny 1975),

and these explanations are still evident today. Whilst some uncritically attributed this perceived reluctance of pastoralists to embrace education to their 'conservatism', others attempted to understand why pastoralists reacted to education provision in the way they did. Parkipuny proposed that the Tanzanian Maasai have felt that formal education erodes pastoral values, "It is not school that they hate but the effects of such an education on the culture, integrity and values of the society" (Parkipuny 1975: 44). It was also suggested that schools were associated by pastoralists with being forced to do things that were anathema to them, such as becoming sedentarised agriculturalists (Gulliver 1969, cited in Sarone 1984). There has often been antagonism between the state and pastoralists which has influenced pastoralists' responses to the schooling process, and negative perceptions about local populations by politically dominant groups from which many teachers and administrators are drawn have been thought to affect the schooling experience (Gorham 1980). Other analysts provided alternative explanations for low rates of education amongst pastoralists. King argued for Maasai in Kenya that "more important than any other factor is the presence of a dynamic alternative lifestyle for boys and youths, which is no longer available to the unschooled in most districts in Kenya" (King 1972: 396). Similarly, Ponsi (1988) pointed out that some pastoralist children would remain outside the modern school system "as long as the nomadic way of life proves to be a viable alternative" (Ponsi 1988).

Lack of curriculum differentiation, or the "practical irrelevance" of the education offered (Sarone 1984) has been another major explanation for pastoralists' supposed low interest in education. For example, Sihm argued that the reason Maasai children were not attending school in large numbers was because the authorities were "offering a primary school curriculum, teaching them [pastoralists] about a society they [did not] really have much interest in" (Sihm, cited in Galaty et al. 1981: 194). The argument is that school curricula are largely irrelevant to pastoralists' experience and concerns. Low relevance generates low interest and lowers motivation, causing low enrolment figures and high drop-out rates. However, Krätli has argued that a lack of curriculum relevance is an inadequate explanation. Citing programmes in Somalia and Iran, Krätli argued that attitudes and behaviours and a non-antagonistic cultural environment play a bigger role in meeting the nature of the demand than curriculum relevance. Dyer and Choksi's work also challenges this explanation (1998). They designed, tested and evaluated a peripatetic adult literacy programme specially adapted to protect the traditional lifestyle of Rabari nomads in India. The Rabari had reservations about this peripatetic literacy

teaching. These people have been increasingly negatively affected by the state's pattern of development, and although they value transhumant pastoralism, they thought that it was unlikely to continue as a viable way of life and therefore literacy and education in general should offer an alternative option for the future. They put more value on formal schooling for their children, independent of its quality and ideology, than on the effective learning of new skills for their day-to-day life, as only formal education was seen as a symbol of modernisation and the route to a higher social status. Schools were seen as the places where the language and behaviour of power could be learnt. Far from being empowering, the Rabari viewed the specially-adapted, nomad-orientated literacy programme as not providing what they sought from education. Dyer and Choksi concluded that, "Nomads saw the programme as a vehicle for gaining technical skills to deal with a defined range of tasks, but since it could not offer the economic, cultural and symbolic capital they seek in their present circumstances, viewed formal schools as the route to empowerment" (1998: 405). Given that what the Rabari desired was the 'symbolic capital' the school was thought to provide, a more 'relevant' curriculum did not fit in with the way they envisaged employing education to facilitate alternative livelihoods (Dyer & Choksi 1998). A study of destitute pastoralists in Northern Kenya has also related attitudes to education and patterns of uptake to broader socio-economic changes, namely the ability of households to maintain themselves in the pastoralist economy (Heffernan et al. 2001). Such understandings by pastoralists of education as offering an alternative to reliance on pastoralism make the curriculum relevance explanation for low levels of education problematic. In the situations described, where pastoralists' attitudes to education have become increasingly positive, it has been argued that this is precisely because education has come to be seen by them as offering access to resources outside the pastoralist sphere (Dyer & Choksi 1998, Krätli 2001, Heffernan et al. 2001), which are increasingly sought because of changing pastoralist perceptions of the viability of pastoralism, and of the opportunities this diversification offers.

The effect of the historical neglect of pastoralist areas in terms of education provision has also been cited in explanations of observed rates, as has the relative isolation of pastoralist groups from the changes which have gone on in other parts of the countries they inhabit. An important consequence of the low levels of education provision in the colonial era and after has been that pastoralists have not experienced the generational momentum of schooling, whereby parents who have been to school are more inclined to

send their children (see Johnson-Hanks 2003 for a discussion of this phenomenon in Cameroon). Education provision in pastoralist areas in Africa has been neglected ever since the introduction of western education. Since the colonial period the practical challenges for education provision in pastoralist areas have hindered and discouraged governments. The tendency has been for governments to more or less ignore the special challenges which the pastoralist way of life has posed for educational provision and concentrate instead on transforming these communities as a prerequisite to such provision. In the colonial period, governments showed very little interest in pastoral areas, there was relatively little missionary activity, and pastoralist groups were comparatively isolated from the various transformations occurring in other areas. There was a concentration of educational institutions in the centres of cash crop production, plantation, or white settler production, and the centres for trade, administration and service industries (Buchert 1994). After independence, governments directed their limited resources towards those peoples and areas that were more politically powerful and/or perceived as "progressive" (Hodgson 2001), and the neglect of pastoralist areas continued. According to King,

While Ministries of education were involved full-time in attempting to meet popular pressures, little attention could be given to those groups within the populations of many African states who had never seen the attractions of formal schooling (King 1972: 389).

Disparities between pastoralist and other areas remained. Several authors have investigated the increasing embrace of education by Maasai in Kenya, and this case illustrates how patterns of education amongst pastoralists across time and space can only be understood in a broader historic and socio-economic context (see Box 1.1).

Box 1.1: The historic and socio-economic context of the increasing embrace of education by Kenyan Maasai

According to Sarone (1986) the creation of a Maasai "Reserve" was one factor that discouraged the spread of education amongst Maasai in Kenya in the colonial period. In return for their surrender of their best land in two moves in 1904 and 1911, the colonial authorities promised not to disturb the Maasai again. The remaining areas were decreed a Reserve, thus ensuring a degree of insulation and isolation from the subsequent transformations in land, economy and education which took place in other areas of the colony. "The Maasai did not experience political and economic pressures to involve

themselves in the national economy until independence. The relationship between the Maasai and the colonial government, and the semi-autonomous status of the Maasai Reserve provided little incentive to the Maasai to participate in Western education" (Sarone 1986: 180). For example, increasingly in Kikuyu areas throughout the colonial period, schooled chiefs were favoured. However, Maasai traditional structures were allowed to penetrate modern authority structures until the independence period, and few chiefs were recruited from amongst the schooled Maasai (Sarone 1986). Moreover, Sarone documented that during the colonial period it was usually those who had less stake in the traditional system who embraced schooling, because "to be schooled in this period meant opting out of age-set politics and Maasai culture to a large extent" (Sarone 1986: 181). Schooling would therefore have had negative associations in the minds of many Maasai.

However, following the devastating 1960-2 famine most Maasai found themselves economically vulnerable. Kipury (1989) described how many Maasai from Kajiado District started seeking alternative forms of existence outside pastoralism in response to this crisis. Rural-urban migration in search of wage employment in peri-urban centres was one of the alternatives. Without education or marketable skills, most of these migrants could only be employed as menial labourers in low paying jobs, if at all. Not everyone was in this situation. A small number of Maasai had obtained a Western education which allowed them to occupy positions of power in the modern state structure. Kipury argued that this situation led Maasai in this area to perceive education as a means to obtain benefits, and resulted in the increased rates of school attendance she documented (Kipury 1989).

Following independence, the Native Reserves were abolished in the early 1970s. Expansion of the cash economy, wage employment and changes in land tenure (namely the creation of group-ranches and the privatisation of land) followed the opening up of the Reserves. Galaty proposed that political and economic insecurity resulting from national government involvement in local affairs, especially in matters relating to land tenure, was also a major factor motivating the increased Maasai involvement in education and other government development institutions (Galaty 1980).

According to Sarone, the changes which accompanied the opening up of Maasai areas have been exploited by educated Maasai (Sarone 1986). For example, he described a tendency for the schooled Maasai, especially those who had achieved civil servant or entrepreneurial status, to procure rights to land, to acquire more land, and to diversify their access to land. They achieved this both through obtaining land titles and participation in group ranching schemes, with schooling having played an important role in group-ranch leadership. The recognition of the success of educated individuals by other Maasai, Sarone suggested, was another reason for the increasing levels of education he observed. He argued that, "Schooling has acquired a value it never had before. It has become essential for social mobility as newer economic opportunities have created a wide range of occupations for which schooling is necessary" (Sarone, 1986: 185).

Evidence from previous studies suggests that pastoralists find it hard to access education. However, these studies have also indicated that pastoralists are critical in their assessments of the benefits and costs of sending children to school. Changing

socio-economic and political contexts apparently affect these evaluations and thus levels of demand.

1.2.3 Gaps in the understanding of education for pastoralists

Despite the increasing attention paid to education for pastoralists, there is still little detailed understanding of the nature of educational practices in pastoralist areas, or the effects of the schooling process on pastoralists' livelihoods. While some scholars have begun to examine education provision for pastoralists critically, recognising that around the world the provision of education for pastoralists has reflected and been instrumental to particular stances on pastoral development (Dyer 2001, Krätli 2000), there has been little in the way of detailed research looking at what schooling has involved. Furthermore, throughout the literature the impact of education is acknowledged and measured only by reference to educational indicators such as enrolment, drop-out rates and exam results (Krätli 2000). For example, in a study of education for pastoralists in one area of Eritrea, Mohamed Ali assesses the question of "how effective are the existing schools in serving the communities" (Mohamed Ali 2006: 72) with reference to data on attendance, progression to the next year, and rates of failure and drop out. However, the lesson from decades of development practice is that programmes *do* something even when they do not do what they are supposed to (Ferguson 1990). By narrowing the analysis of the impact of education to measuring only the expected results, particularly when those results are so rarely achieved, only a very incomplete and misleading picture is considered.

Sarone's research amongst the Maasai in Kenya, which examined the reasons behind increasing school participation rates, underlined that,

Education research in pastoral areas has usually focussed on government policy at the educational level. This approach has tended to ignore local perceptions and attitudes towards schooling in rural areas. More specifically, it has often neglected the consequences and implications of educational participation for the pastoral way of life (Sarone 1986: 24).

There have been a very limited number of studies which have made any attempt to understand the wider, longer-term consequences and implications of education for

pastoralists and pastoralism. Holland conducted a largely questionnaire based study in Kenyan Maasailand, the fieldwork for which was carried out in 1992, on the factors affecting uptake of education, as well as the effect of increasing rates of education on employment patterns (Holland 1996). He demonstrated that opportunities for employment within the pastoral sector generated by the increasing commoditisation of cattle and labour, such as waged herding and cattle trading, were being taken advantage of by Maasai who had not been to school. However the flow of in-migrants from non-pastoral districts where formal education was more established provided competition with educated youths from pastoral groups for employment that required school qualifications. Whilst the results of this study are interesting, its predominantly quantitative nature prevented any depth of understanding of the processes through which schooling impacted on livelihoods. In another study Galaty demonstrated that some skills relating to pastoralism had not been acquired by school-boys to the same extent as their non-schooled peers (Galaty 1989), although this study was small and thus necessarily narrow in scope. Other academic work has considered the effects of schooling 'in-passing', in studies which were examining different issues. Both statistical and qualitative work has shown that in Kenya educated Maasai, wealthy Maasai, and Maasai with a leadership position in the local community were many times more likely to be involved in leasing out land for cultivation, practising commercial cultivation themselves, and earning revenue from tourist facilities (Thompson & Homewood 2002). Galaty (1992) found that in Kenyan Maasailand, education and employment experience were highly negatively correlated with land sales after land was privatised and allotted to individuals. He suggested a number of reasons why this correlation might exist, for example, through greater acquaintance with the value of land educated people might have been more aware of the advantages of retaining it.

The general lack of understanding of the consequences and implications of education for pastoralists' livelihoods has been recognised by other researchers. For example, in their comprehensive review of literature on pastoralist diversification in Kenya and Southern Ethiopia, Little and his colleagues identified the need for better understandings of the returns to investments in education among pastoralists (Little et al. 1999). In fact, they went on to address this need, analysing household data to compare incomes and other measures of vulnerability between homesteads with a secondary educated individual, and those without (Little et al. 2004). They found that homesteads with secondary educated members were more than ten times more likely to

have people in waged employment, many of whom worked outside their home areas. This meant that these homesteads had considerably higher cash incomes and owned more livestock than other homesteads. However, the authors pointed out that under current labour market conditions investment in secondary education does not guarantee employment as it often did in the past. In terms of herd management, formal education seemed to have little impact. More than 70 percent of livestock wealth was lost in a recent drought, and differences in losses between 'with' and 'without' education homesteads were minimal. In absolute numbers the 'with' education homesteads actually lost considerably more livestock than the other group. The authors argued that education may actually constrain pastoral production in the area by removing herd labour (children) and necessitating a reliance on hired herders who are understood to be careless with animals. Additionally, according to local elders "educated youth" reportedly had little respect for customary tenure rules and controls and were strong proponents of land privatization, which the authors argued can greatly damage range and livestock productivity in communal grazing areas (Little et al. 2004). Whilst this study provides valuable insights, the concentration on the consequences of secondary education limit its relevance for many pastoralist areas where levels of secondary education are minimal, and its quantitative nature precludes detailed understanding of the processes through which schooling is associated with these outcomes.

1.3 Thesis aims

In this thesis I will examine critically the schooling process in Engare Naibor, a pastoralist area in Tanzania. My first aim is to understand the nature of the schooling process. What has schooling in Engare Naibor involved, and why? What agendas and ideas have informed the way different actors have understood and employed schooling? How have different actors shaped the process? How have Maasai experienced it?

My second aim is to understand what the consequences and implications of the schooling process have been for pastoralists' livelihoods. What have the immediate practical implications been of having children in school for those practicing pastoralism? How has having been to school changed the livelihoods of adults who went to school themselves? Is education supporting the livelihoods of pastoralists? What effects is education having on pastoralism? What are the mechanisms through which education is shaping livelihood opportunities, constraints, and choices?

My third aim is to demonstrate the relevance of this research for current debates around education for pastoralists. In the context of the current policy environment, how might the findings from this research influence education provision in pastoralist areas?

In setting out the aims of this thesis, it is also necessary to specify what will not be addressed. This study focuses specifically on pastoralism as a system of production, and the ways in which formal education influences this system. Schooling may have implications for many other areas of life, and much research has attempted to describe and explain these implications amongst non-pastoralist groups in the developing world². Whilst I am aware of the many different ways in which education can affect people's lives, its implications for pastoralism are my focus. However, it is not possible to separate pastoralism as a production system from pastoralism as a way of life, and a holistic view is necessary.

The term 'schooling' is preferable to 'formal education' in the context of this research, as it is more likely to be understood in terms of the broader socially-embedded processes surrounding schools.

1.4 Thesis structure

Chapter Two explores anthropological theory as it relates to the study of 'development' in general, and schooling in particular. Chapter Three describes the study context and the methods and approaches employed, relating these methodological choices to the study aims and theoretical understandings explored in the previous chapters.

Part Two explores how the nature of the schooling process in pastoralist areas in Tanzania, and in Engare Naibor in particular, has been shaped by actors in different social locations. There is a plurality of goals in any development context, with different actors pursuing different agendas. Chapter Four examines how the development of pastoralist areas has been envisioned at international and national levels, and how these ideas have influenced education provision in Tanzania, taking into account the specific historical context in Tanzania. This analysis does not consider recent policy changes, which are analysed in Chapter Eleven. Understandings gained through fieldwork are

² For example, see Bledsoe et al. (1999) for a discussion of the demographic consequences of education, Lockheed et al. (1980) and Appleton and Balihuta (1996) on the effects of education on agricultural productivity, and Psacharopoulos (1994) on the economic returns to investment in education.

then used in Chapter Five to analyse the ways non-Maasai in-migrants have influenced the schooling process, and to explore the importance of these non-Maasai to the negotiations over values and ideas which the schooling process has involved. In Chapter Six Maasai experiences of schooling, and how they have responded to and understood it, are considered.

In Part Three the consequences and implications of schooling for the livelihoods of Maasai in Engare Naibor are analysed. Chapter Seven considers whether and how the schooling process has led to changes in the ways Maasai think about and practice pastoralism. Chapter Eight considers how the uptake and expansion of cultivation by Maasai has been encouraged and facilitated by the schooling process. Chapter Nine examines the extent to which the schooling process has promoted income diversification. Chapter Ten draws together evidence from previous chapters, as well as other sources of information, to assess the effects of schooling on Maasai livelihoods.

The thesis is to a large extent a consideration of the nature of the schooling experience of Maasai children in the past, and the impacts of this schooling on the livelihoods of schooled individuals and their families in the present. However, in Part Four I attempt to highlight the relevance of the thesis to contemporary debates. In order to do so, it is important to examine the policy environment surrounding education for pastoralists. This, as well as an analysis of current education policies and practice, forms Chapter Eleven. In Chapter Twelve, conclusions are arrived at about the nature of the schooling process and its impacts on pastoralism and pastoralists' livelihoods, and the limitations of this thesis are discussed. Lessons are drawn from what the realities of schooling and its impacts have been in Engare Naibor in order to inform debates about the future of education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania and beyond.

Chapter 2: Theorising education and development

Education is not a benign ‘good’ at every moment of its historical path, but rather it is a set of historical practices that have been used differently by individuals, groups, governments and international agencies, depending on their intention, power, and [ideas] (Bloch & Varvus 1998: 4).

2.1 Introduction

‘Development’ is a notion that has multiple contested meanings (Tucker 1997), but education has consistently been linked with it, both in theoretical thinking, popular understanding, and political rhetoric. What those involved in educational policy-making and practice understand the ends of ‘development’ to be will significantly influence the practices of schooling, and consequently the outcomes of formal education provision.

In this chapter I will describe anthropological theory as it relates to the study of development in general, and education in particular, which has influenced my work. I will briefly examine relevant theoretical themes, and will elucidate how these have furthered understandings in specific ethnographic contexts. In later chapters it will become apparent how this theory has informed my own approach and analysis.

2.2 Deconstructing development.

Escobar (1995) noted how the ‘discovery’ of mass ‘poverty’ in Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the post-World War II era led to the emergence of ‘development’, a vague term which encompassed and justified a range of interventions to ‘manage’ and ‘reduce’ poverty. However, in the 1970s and 1980s many anthropologists and others began to challenge development practices. Some criticised economic models which presumed the goal of capitalist development for failing to take into account local social, cultural, and ecological factors (see Polly Hill’s (1986) *Development Economics on Trial*). With the influence of dependency theory (Frank 1972), scholars were encouraged to view development in the context of centre-periphery relations and the expansion of world capitalism. Lappe and Collins’ widely read “Food First” (Lappe & Collins 1977) and “Aid as Obstacle” (Lappe et al. 1980), argued that development projects could do

nothing to eradicate poverty when they reinforced the structures of inequality that were responsible for such poverty. Hunger was not a product of global scarcity, overpopulation, and diminishing resources, but rather a product of the capitalist system and unequal distribution. These and other critiques inspired many anthropologists to broaden the challenge to developmentalist thinking.

Extensions of insights from the work of Foucault to colonial and postcolonial situations by authors such as Edward Said opened up new ways of thinking about representations of the Third World (Said 1979). Anthropology's self-critique and renewal during the 1980s have also been important in this regard. A new generation of development critics, inspired by Foucault and poststructuralist analysis, has emerged, whose critiques focus on development institutions and their discourses. After a long period when development economics, normative policy debates and political science dominated the field of development studies, the 1990s ushered in a more open intellectual climate which was more receptive to "locating the analysis of development within theoretical frameworks that deal explicitly with the dynamics of cross-cultural practices, meanings and discourses" (Arce & Long 1999: 1).

2.3 Development as a discourse

Foucault's work on 'discourse', which refers to a historically situated set of practices that produces and reproduces relations of knowledge and power, has been highly influential for recent anthropological thought on development. He explored the way certain representations become dominant and shape the ways in which reality is imagined and acted upon, in other words the relationships between power and knowledge and their articulation through discursive practices (see Foucault 1979). He argued that, "the criteria of what constitutes knowledge, what is to be excluded, and who is qualified to know involves acts of power" (Foucault 1971, cited in Gardner & Lewis 1996: 71).

In this way, the concept of development as discourse implies more than simply 'development speak'. A discourse is not just a set of words; it is a set of rules about what you can and cannot say and about what. A discourse of development identifies appropriate and legitimate ways of practising development as well as speaking and thinking about it (Grillo 1997: 13). Considering development as discourse shifts

attention onto the power relationships both at local and international level between developers and those being developed, and onto the rules that influence how development is carried out or which practices are valued. As Escobar (1995) summarizes:

... the system of relations [between development institutions, forms of knowledge, etc.] establishes a discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise: it sets the rules that must be followed for this or that problem, theory or object to emerge and be named, analysed and eventually transformed into a policy or a plan (1995: 41).

From this, areas of development knowledge or expertise can be deconstructed as historically and politically specific constructions of reality, which are more to do with the exercise of power in particular historical contexts than presenting 'objective' realities (Gardner & Lewis 1996). In the context of this study, it is important to note that discourses surrounding the environment and development, as well as more specifically pastoral development, have been subjected to such critique and deconstruction (Anderson 1999, Fairhead 2000, Hodgson 2001, Hodgson 1999a). For example, Hodgson has described how dominant understandings of pastoralist ecology have greatly influenced the form that development interventions in pastoralist areas have taken, in other words, the discursive practices of pastoral development. This is explored further in Chapter Four.

James Ferguson's (1990) and Arturo Escobar's (1995) studies shared a view of development as a powerful discourse. They considered how the World Bank constructed knowledge about the 'Third World' by examining World Bank projects in Lesotho and Colombia, respectively. Escobar demonstrated the pervasive effects of development discourse. He argued that the development discourse "has created an extremely efficient apparatus for producing knowledge about, and the exercise of power over, the Third World" (Escobar 1995: 9). Escobar did not, however, view this presumed homogenization as a conspiracy because he did not pin the development discourse on any particular set or sets of actors, either in the World Bank, the planning offices in Bogota, or the field stations of rural Colombia. Escobar argued that the agent of this homogenization is the discourse itself.

Fergusson, in his study of a development project in Lesotho, analyzed the nature of the development discourse in operation. He deconstructed this discourse, and revealed that it was not based on the realities of the locale it was intended to help, the political realities of poverty and powerlessness having been translated by the development apparatus into 'technical' problems awaiting solution by development agencies and experts, resulting in the failure of the project on its own terms. This was not his main purpose, however, and he went on to show how, in fact, the development apparatus in Lesotho acts as an "anti-politics machine", everywhere whisking political realities out of sight and all the while performing, almost unnoticed, its own pre-eminently political operation of strengthening the state presence in the local region. Ferguson argued that, as Foucault showed, discourse has real effects which are much more profound than simply "mystification" of agendas.

The thoughts and actions of development bureaucrats are profoundly shaped by the world of acceptable statements and utterances within which they live; and what they do and do not do is a product not only of the interests of various nations, classes or international agencies, but also, and at the same time, of a working out of this complex structure of knowledge (Ferguson 1995: 18).

He argued that the actors involved in development projects do have agendas, but it is not sufficient to see the outcomes of such projects as the result of these agendas. These agendas, and the intentional plans that stem from them, can interact with unacknowledged structures and chance events to produce unintended outcomes (Ferguson 1990).

Ferguson leaves the impression that this attempt to conceal the political realities of development goes unchallenged by local populations. In fact, both of these studies leave us wondering where this discourse comes from and how it might be shaped by the struggles of real people. Neither author discusses resistance in depth, nor explains how resistance can redirect development efforts. In fact, as one critic argued, "it is difficult to imagine resistance in light of the ideological strangle-hold that the development discourse appears to have in poststructural accounts" (Everett 1997: 140).

Whilst these critical works in the anthropology of development have provided valuable insights into how development works as a powerful discourse shaping how social

change is understood, their lack of attention to agency limits understandings of these processes. As Everett argues,

If they have shown development to be a regime of representation, however, they have largely failed to reveal the agents of this repressive system. By leaving out or simplifying agency, they portray development as both more unified and more powerful than it is. In their vision of development without subjects, poststructuralist critics also portray agents as largely unaware of the social processes in which they are caught. Yet, while the consequences of development may often be unintended and misunderstood by those involved, this fact does not mean that conscious actions and motivations have no role in shaping development interventions (Everett 1997: 147).

2.4 Agency and multiple development discourses

There has been a shift in anthropological thought towards an increased emphasis on agency. It has been suggested that this trend is the result of postmodernism's criticism of the use of meta-narratives to explain the operations of social, political, and economic forces, which encourages a rethinking of assumptions about power emanating from a single source, and consideration of the ways power operates through the practices of everyday life (Bloch & Varvus 1998). The tendency to assume that there is one development discourse, to see development as a monolithic enterprise, has been challenged (Grillo 1997: 20). Anthropologists studying development are increasingly aware of the ways in which global discourses of development and modernity are negotiated at the local level by a range of actors (Long & Long 1992, Arce & Long 1999), recognising that discourse gets resisted, co-opted and reworked by local actors with their own interests. This work has begun to fill in the questions raised by writers such as Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (1995), whose ideas have been significant in identifying the debilitating effects of the discourse of development, but which essentially privilege the effects of a dominant, global discourse of development over the role of local actors in shaping and re-appropriating the "symbols, practices and trappings" (Arce and Long 2000: 5) of development and modernity according to their own world views (Dahl & Rabo 1992, Everett 1997). This "actor-oriented approach" is concerned with "a field of contested realities in which struggles over values, resources, knowledge and images constitute the battlefield between different actors and their life-

worlds" (Arce & Long 1999: 23-24). Local 'beneficiaries' are thought to be actively engaged with the discursive practices of development, not "the passive subjects of development institutions and ideology, but as 'knowing' agents in their own right" (Arce & Long 1999: 23).

Many anthropologists now consider there to be many development discourses, and multiple modernities (Grillo, 1997: 21). In Dahl and Rabo's edited volume *Kam-ap or take-off* (1992), for example, the contributors explored how local visions of development intersected with or diverged from the premises of western development. Recent ethnographically based analyses have illustrated the ways in which global processes articulate with local communities. Without denying the more structural asymmetries of power, scholars contend that outside cultural influences do not enter into a vacuum, but into a space where their meanings are defined by the interaction with a whole variety of local meanings and practices. This thesis will demonstrate the ways in which discourses of education and development in Engare Naibor are negotiated and employed by different actors, and that an understanding of why the outcomes of schooling are as they are can only be achieved if this process of negotiation is recognised and analysed.

2.5 Education

The approaches discussed above allow an understanding of the ways in which institutions, projects, and discourses coming from outside communities (such as schools and the discourses surrounding formal education) shape and are shaped by these communities as they imagine, negotiate, contest, and transform their own modernities. I will now explore the ways these and other ideas have been applied to the study of education.

The first wave of critical studies of schooling emerged in the 1970s. Before this a liberal conception of schooling was dominant, which regarded the school as an instrument for creating an enlightened, egalitarian society. The radical critique of education provided by Reproduction Theory in the 1970s argued that state controlled formal education maintains the status quo, instils the ideology of the dominant, the state and the urban elite and crushes creativity, critical thinking and dissent (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977, Bowles & Gintis 1976, Illich 1970). For example, according to Bourdieu and Passeron

(1977), the highly skewed valuation of cultural styles and competencies was what buttressed an unequal social order. They showed how French schools recognised and rewarded certain skills, tastes and deportments. Because the school presented itself as apolitical, subordinate groups accepted without question the claims made by the dominant classes for their own cultural superiority. In this way the status quo was maintained as students accepted the version of the world the school promoted (see Gramsci 1971).

Willis' ethnographic account of the working class pupils of "Hammertown Comprehensive" shattered the image of the passive, malleable student implicit in Reproduction Theory (Willis 1977). He moved beyond Reproduction Theory, adding 'resistance' to reproduction. This heralded a theoretical shift which was encouraged by the introduction of ethnographic research to the study of education, and which came with the shift in anthropology towards ideas that emphasise agency. Willis argued that reproduction does occur through the school, but "for all we are told of how this happens, schools may as well be 'black boxes'" (1977:22), which he deemed to be theoretically inadequate. Willis presented a detailed ethnography of what actually happened when the apparatus of schooling was brought to bear on a group of working class 'lads'. He found that there was no mechanistic imprinting of the characteristics required by the capitalist state on its passive victims, as the Reproduction Theory might suggest, but rather an ongoing battle between school power on the one hand, and resistance based on working class culture on the other. He described how a rebellious group of 'lads' rejected the values of their English state school and created their own interpretation of its messages. Moreover, he argued that it was, ironically, through this resistance that the task of "reproduction" was accomplished. "Social agents are not passive bearers of ideology, but active appropriators who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestation and a partial penetration of those structures" (Willis 1977: 175). Willis showed the importance of considering the political and social context in which schooling takes place for understanding the process and outcomes, as well as the importance of recognising students as active participants in the social processes which schooling comprises.

Following on from some of the trends in anthropology discussed above, and mirroring major developments in the study of literacy³ (Street 1993, Street 2001), new ways of thinking about education have been developed. Education has previously been treated by some educational theorists as independent of social context, an autonomous variable whose consequences for society and cognition can be derived from its intrinsic character and are therefore universal. Formal education has sometimes been assumed to be a neutral transmission of knowledge, facts and skills. Human Capital Theory, a strand of the Modernisation school of development, viewed education in this way, as a simple transfer of technology. The social-psychological strand of this school of thought focused on the individual and the way they think about the world. For example, Inkeles and Smith (1974) argued that the more educated people were, the more likely they were to adopt 'modern' values, which would make them more economically productive. They developed a "modernity index" which enabled them to rank people according to a defined set of characteristics. In reading this literature, it is hard to escape the conclusion that human beings are passive objects who become affected by education in ways they are neither fully aware of nor able to control.

Education has come to be seen by many anthropologists and others as a diverse collection of socially situated practices embedded in a local context, which occur not only within schools, but outside them, and after schooling has been completed. This view emphasises the agency of learners. Education is not an autonomous process with respect to the situation in which it occurs, and it does not produce uniform results. Carter (1999) succinctly expresses this way of looking at education,

The alternative view of education as situated processes of interaction abandons the search for universals. It directs attention instead to the ways in which schooling and its consequences vary with the practices of which it is composed and the social and cultural context in which it is embedded (Carter 1999: 66).

³ Previous ideas about literacy, termed the 'autonomous model', saw it as constituting a kind of potent, active force in itself, and acting as an agent of change, and as technical and neutral skills to be imparted to those lacking them. This view has been criticised, especially by Street (1984, 1993). The alternative, 'ideological model' recognises multiple literacies and views literacy practices as socially embedded. Street talks about "literacies" as "the social practices and conceptions of reading and writing" (Street 1993: 1).

Changing approaches to the study of education have also been informed by a shift in studies of socialisation from concern with the passive internalisation of “given” cultural norms, values, beliefs and behaviours to interest in how the “recipient[s] of socio-cultural knowledge” are “active contributor[s] to the meaning and outcome of interactions with other members of a social group” (Pelissier 1991: 83-84, quoting Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986: 165).

Since Willis’ (1977) work was published, a number of other studies of schools have demonstrated that students participate actively in their education (e.g. Aronwitz and Giroux 1991; Heath 1983; Johnson 1985; McLaren 1993, cited in Johnson-Hanks 2006). However, most of this work has been conducted in schools in the United States and Europe. Levinson and Holland (1996) have argued that

While the presence of schools are at least mentioned in virtually every ethnographic work written, there has still been relatively little systematic attention paid to the ongoing effects of schooling in the practices of everyday life (Levinson & Holland 1996: 21).

As Caroline Bledsoe has observed, Western scholarship “can be oblivious to remarkable transformations of meaning that Western practices undergo when transplanted to new contexts” (Bledsoe 2000: 140). However, some research in the non-West has documented the multiple social ends to which schools and communities have employed education (Varvus 2003, Stambach 2000, Serpell 1993). Scattered though they have been, ethnographic studies of schooling have repeatedly challenged the belief that schools inexorably and predictably change local cultures (Sutton 2000).

Research in different ethnographic contexts has shown local people to be active and show agency in the discursive practices surrounding schooling. Local people have been shown to make sense of schooling and employ it (or not employ it) according to their understandings and to their own ends. The existing beliefs and values of local cultures have been shown to shape how children and parents think about the purpose of schooling (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1: Literacy and schooling in Gapun

Kulick and Stroud (1993), in their work on Gapun, a village in Papua New Guinea, examined how local people transformed the discursive practices of literacy and schooling. They showed how Gapuners were not passively transformed by literacy, but instead actively and creatively applied literate skills to suit their own purposes and needs. They examined the ways in which local conceptions of Christianity and Cargo influenced how the villagers evaluated and used literacy. Literacy in Gapun was introduced by Catholic missionaries. From its beginnings, Catholicism in Gapun was linked with notions of Cargo. Moreover, the strong associations between Christianity, Cargo and literacy were, according to Kulick and Stroud, actively maintained by villagers who thought that they could get the link to work for them. Gapuners strongly believed that Christianity was the key to obtaining the Cargo, and that the Cargo would come as a result of their actions. They were constantly looking for a way to make this happen. Kulick and Stroud argued that the villagers' interpretation of the relationship between Christianity and literacy was based upon their pre-Christian notions of language as a powerful means by which knowledgeable men and women could bring about transformations in their world. Words were associated with the ability to directly influence spirit powers to make things happen. Gapuners were therefore motivated to learn to read and write in order to decipher "God's talk", and through the use of these powerful words, to cause the Cargo to arrive. The wishes and goals of the church concerning literacy had, it should be noted, remained peripheral. The opening of a government-run school in 1967 gave the villagers their first access to non-religious reading material. But Gapun villagers continued to interpret schooling in terms of their millenarian world view. What this meant is that even the secular literature read by children in school was conceptualised in an essentially religious framework. In addition to this, literacy in school was acquired in English, which was rarely encountered outside the classroom and therefore had an esoteric and mysterious nature. Kulick and Stroud argued that Gapuners resisted the ways of understanding literacy and schooling of the Church and government, and instead saw the purpose of schooling as to reveal the secret of the Cargo to their children.

2.6 Theory and this thesis

In this chapter I have demonstrated the importance of understanding the meanings different actors in specific situations confer on development, and their views of schooling's role in that development, for making sense of the ways they react to and use schooling. I have also shown what understandings can be achieved when schooling is understood to be "a situated human activity embedded in the flow of everyday social life" (Levinson 2000: 3), the discursive practices of education examined, and the agency of the recipients of education acknowledged. In this thesis I will employ these approaches to examine the social mechanisms through which schooling in Engare Naibor has led to changes in pastoralist livelihoods and the pastoralist production system.

Chapter Three: Fieldwork and methods

3.1 Introduction

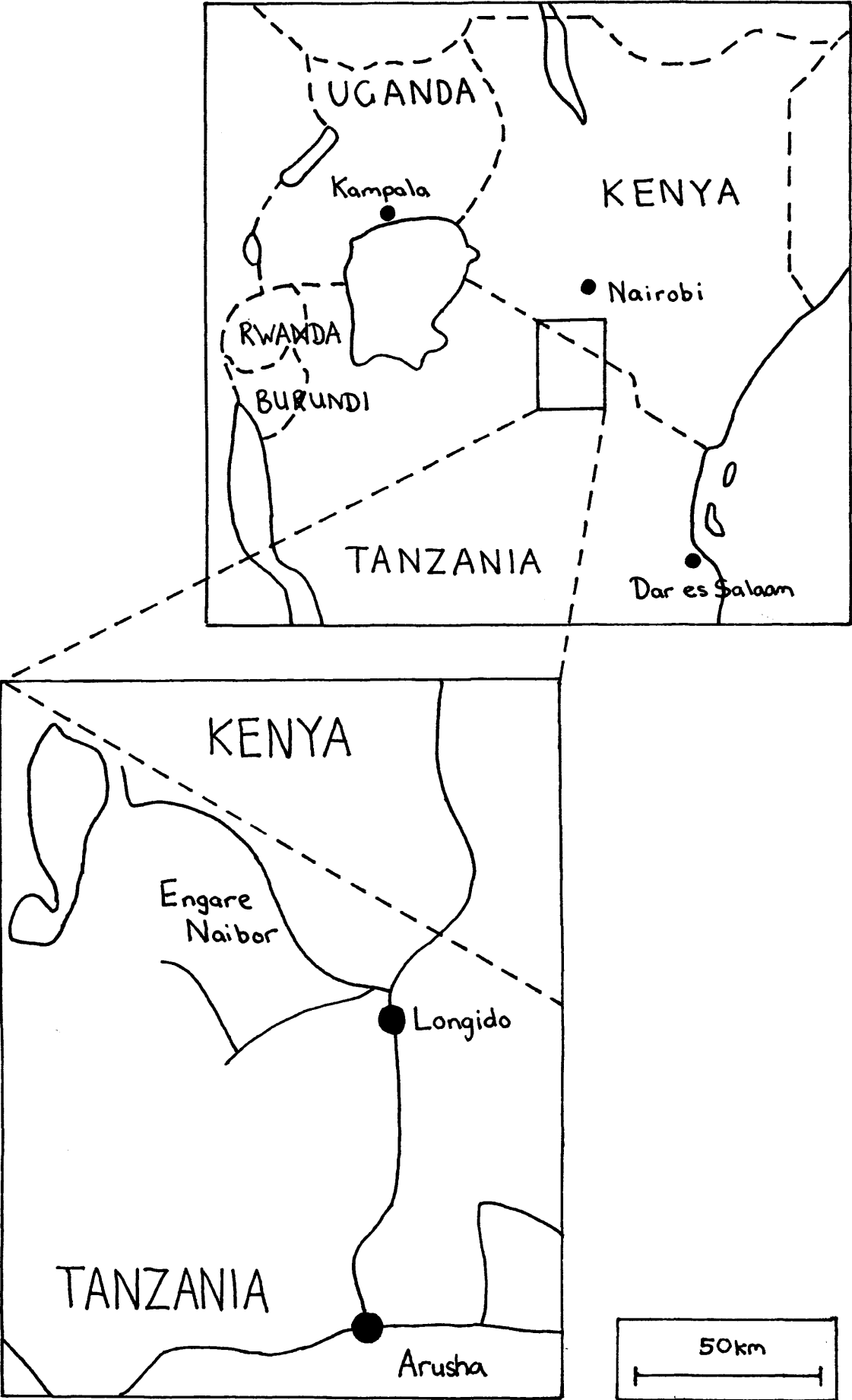
In the previous chapters I have set out my thesis aims, and have elucidated some of the theoretical ideas which have informed the way I have approached these questions. In this chapter I will describe the methods I have used, and the data I have collected, in order to answer these questions.

My academic background is multi-disciplinary, and this is reflected in my methodological choices, and consequently in the style of this thesis. I felt it necessary to systematically collect quantitative data in order to have a better idea of the scale of certain changes resulting from schooling, and to statistically evaluate the impact of schooling. However, anthropological approaches to education and development have also informed my approach. The ideas of schooling as a diverse collection of socially situated practices, and of development as a discursive practice, necessitated extensive participant observation and the use of other qualitative methods. I have attempted to integrate quantitative data on the implications of schooling for pastoralist livelihoods, and qualitative data which allow an understanding of the diverse processes through which schooling has had these results.

3.2 Study location

My first experience of Engare Naibor, the Administrative District which was to be the location for this study, was in 2002. I was working as a research assistant on a project assessing the socio-economic impacts of a livestock vaccine. During a month spent conducting a questionnaire survey, it became apparent that there were a great number of conversations taking place about education, and levels of enrolment which were high relative to some other pastoralist areas in Tanzania. Education was obviously an issue which mattered to people in Engare Naibor. Through library research I became aware that education for pastoralists was a topic around which there was a recent flurry of debate. The gaps in our understanding described in Chapter One also became apparent. I decided to embark on a PhD exploring these questions.

Figure 3.1: Map of the study area



I chose to do my fieldwork in Engare Naibor for a number of reasons. I was familiar with the area, and knew it to be relatively easily accessible compared to other pastoralist areas in Tanzania. It was also an appropriate location because it was a pastoralist system which had already experienced relatively high levels of schooling compared to some other pastoralist areas in the country, so the implications of the schooling process in this specific context would be apparent. The phenomenon of the non-Maasai presence in the main trading and administrative centre of Mairoua also interested me, because I was aware that coming into contact with non-pastoralists, and experiencing a different way of life and values, has been an important aspect of the schooling process for pastoralist children both in Tanzania and elsewhere.

This trading and administrative centre is situated about 15 km as the crow flies from the Kenyan border, and roughly 40 km east of the town of Longido on the main Namanga-Arusha road, accessible by a dirt road. Engare Naibor is more suitable for cultivation than many of the surrounding areas. With the exception of this trading centre, where approximately one hundred and fifty non-Maasai live, those living in the area are almost exclusively Maasai. Non-Maasai in-migration to Mairoua gained momentum in the villagisation period in the 1970s. These non-Maasai were posted by the government to provide social services, and have increasingly come for trade opportunities. Facilities in Mairoua include a primary school, a dispensary, a weekly market, about 30 shops, and government offices.

There are now a number of schools in Engare Naibor, although for many years Engare Naibor Primary School, founded in 1973, was the only one in the area. However, the schools built most recently only cater for the first few years of schooling, and older children still have to travel to Engare Naibor Primary School or one of the other more established schools in the Administrative District. The nearest government secondary school to the study area is in Longido, but current secondary school pupils attend a range of private and government schools in Northern Tanzania and Southern Kenya.

The Maasai living in Engare Naibor are largely agro-pastoralists, and Mairoua is at the epicentre of scattered homesteads with livestock enclosures and fields of maize and beans. In contrast to the past, these homesteads are now permanent. Whole families no longer migrate with their livestock. Instead, young men are usually in charge of shifting livestock when the conditions of pasture, water, or disease demand it. Despite the

dominance of pastoralism and agriculture in the livelihoods of local Maasai, there are more opportunities for livelihood diversification than in some other pastoralist areas in Tanzania (Trench et al. 2007). The trading centre provides opportunities to invest in trade and in buildings, and the nearby gemstone mine in Munderara presents opportunities for mineral trading. Proximity to the Kenyan border enables a thriving unofficial cross border livestock trade. Mairoua is also the focal point for the activities of numerous churches and NGOs active in the area.

I decided to live in Ngosuak, one of the sub-villages (*kitongoji*, pl. *vitongoji*) in Engare Naibor which is about six kilometres from Mairoua trading centre. The house in which I lived belonged to Steven Kiruswa, a locally born Maasai man who had just received a PhD from a university in the USA. I felt this location to be suitable because, whilst living in Mairoua trading centre would have been logistically easier, I was aware that it might be harder to establish relationships with Maasai who did not speak KiSwahili than it would be to establish relationships with non-Maasai in Mairoua. Living in a traditional homestead [*enkang*, pl. *inkangitie*], surrounded by Steven's extended family, within easier walking distance of other *inkangitie*, facilitated the process whereby people got used to me and understood my purpose for being there. The Kiruswa *enkang*, because of Steven's educational achievements, was also the site of many conversations about education. I spent my time in Ngosuak walking to interview people in their *inkangitie*, to visit more informally, being a participant observer in Ngosuak Primary School or attending other events such as community meetings.

Whilst I spent the majority of my time in Ngosuak, I frequently had to go to Mairoua in the course of daily life, to Engare Naibor Primary School, to observe interactions in the trading centre, and to conduct interviews with people living there, especially non-Maasai. To get to Mairoua by foot from the Kiruswa *enkang* took about an hour and a half, but by bicycle it took less, especially as local conditions took their toll on my brakes. I was fortunate to develop a close friendship with a non-Maasai family in Mairoua, who were happy to accommodate me if I needed to stay there, and often allowed me to use one of their rooms to conduct impromptu interviews when necessary. My relationship with them was also important in the initial stages of fieldwork in allowing me to observe the sorts of interactions that occur between Maasai and non-Maasai in Mairoua. I would spend time sitting in their small shop, or their tea shop, talking to customers and listening to discussions.

3.3 The Maasai

Spear suggests that “Everyone ‘knows’ the Maasai” (Spear 1993b: 1), and this is not least because of the large amount of literature written about them. Maasai society and history have been extensively studied recently (Spear & Waller 1993, Spencer 1988), with many studies focussing on the impacts of socio-economic and political changes, and development interventions (for example, see Galaty 1992, Talle 1988, Thompson & Homewood 2002, Hodgson 2001). I did not set out to do a ‘Maasai’ study, but was interested in studying schooling in a pastoralist context. However, the wealth of literature on other aspects of the Maasai context has informed my work.

It is necessary to recognise the specificity of the Maasai context. The Maasai, who today number about 350,000 (Fratkin & Mearns 2003), are composed of a dozen independent groups including the Kisongo of Tanzania amongst whom this study was conducted. The Maasai hold a unique place in the Tanzanian imagination, it having been argued by that, “The pastoral Maasai, the prototypical conservative, is a poverty icon in the modern state” (Talle 1999: 123). It will become apparent how this iconic status affects the ideas and attitudes non-Maasai bring to the schooling process. It is also important to recognise the other ways in which the Maasai do not represent ‘typical’ East African pastoralists. Maasai areas experience little armed conflict compared to other pastoralist groups in the region such as the Karamoja and groups in northern Kenya and Somalia. The Maasai also occupy areas with relatively good agro-ecological conditions and hence agricultural potential, and are less geographically isolated than other groups.

3.4 Language and Research Assistants

I am reasonably fluent in KiSwahili, the national language in Tanzania. This enabled me to effectively conduct interviews, and take part in and listen to conversations in KiSwahili. However, Maasai in Engare Naibor who have not been to school tend not to speak KiSwahili, and amongst those who have been to school levels of proficiency and confidence in KiSwahili are variable. Moreover, I found that many of those Maasai who did speak KiSwahili, but were not entirely confident in this second language, gave much more thorough answers to questions when responding in Maa. It was therefore necessary for me to conduct many interviews with the help of a Maa-speaking research assistant. I tried to learn as much Maa as possible, spending a total of six weeks on a

Maa language course run in Kenya for Catholic priests working in Maasai areas, and continuing to learn Maa throughout my fieldwork. However, whilst the Maa I did learn was hugely beneficial socially, and when transcribing interviews with my research assistants, I was never able to conduct anything beyond relatively basic conversations with people who only spoke Maa.

During the course of my fieldwork I worked with two research assistants, both young men who had been to secondary school but wanted to continue with their education. Whilst working exclusively with educated young men may have influenced people's responses to us, their good levels of literacy and language skills were invaluable. I began working with Ernest in 2003. He was born in Ngosuak, and was well known and liked both there and in Mairoua. His charisma and charm facilitated many interviews, and his good humour and enthusiasm were much appreciated. I have been lucky enough to be able to work with Ernest extensively since then, and we developed a very effective working relationship. I also worked for a period of four months with Stephen, who was from a nearby village, and a diligent colleague and assistant.

3.5 Methods

This thesis is based on 14 months of fieldwork in addition to time spent attending language courses in both KiSwahili and Maa. The first period of fieldwork was a pilot study in 2003, then an extended period, followed up with a return visit in 2006.

Initially during the extended period of fieldwork I concentrated on building relationships, understanding more about the situation, and trying to improve my language skills. I then began to use a variety of more structured methods, alongside participant observation, in order to be able to triangulate different types of data.

3.5.1 Questionnaire

I systematically collected quantitative data using a questionnaire. Because I had to reconcile the demands on my time of the different sorts of methods I wished to employ, I decided to limit the scale of the survey. I decided to conduct this questionnaire in only one sub-village (*kitongoji* pl. *vitongoji*), rather than sampling households from a larger area, because I hoped that being geographically limited in my scope would allow me to

develop more in depth knowledge. It was also necessary to enumerate an entire defined area because a technique which I intended to use to measure the extent of migration out of the area was facilitated by complete coverage (Zaba 1985). This decision to limit the scale and geographical scope of my survey has limited the extent to which my findings can be generalised.

Ngosuak sub-village consists of 107 ilmarei (s. olmarei), which I considered as the enumeration unit for the questionnaire, in 50 homesteads (inkangitie, sing. enkang), and 999 individuals were enumerated. The sub-village boundaries reach Mairoua trading centre. There are no shops, administrative buildings, or social service buildings in Ngosuak sub-village itself, other than Ngosuak Primary School which was set up in 2003 and caters for pupils in the first four years of primary education, and Ngosuak Nursery, which was built with community contributions and considerable financial assistance from American Christians.

I chose to consider the olmarei as the enumeration unit because it was understood locally to be the most meaningful unit of analysis when thinking about 'household' processes, and one which would capture all members of the resident population. The olmarei in physical terms refers to the collection of houses about a communal gate. It typically consists of a married man, his wife or wives, dependent children including fostered children, and any other dependent relatives (Coast 2001). It is the centre of livestock ownership, and is relatively autonomous in many aspects of decision-making, although the degree of autonomy and inter-dependence between ilmarei is more variable than idealised definitions might suggest.

The questionnaire was piloted and altered to rectify the problems this revealed. It was conducted in late 2004. Interviews were usually conducted with household heads, who were by and large men, because I was reluctant to interview women whose husbands might later object. I was present for the majority of these interviews. This enabled me to monitor the quality of these interviews, as well as to ask questions afterwards of the interviewee which had arisen during the interview.

Information was collected on:

- Olmarei demographic composition
- Levels of education

- Occupations and other sources of income
- Out-migration of siblings
- Livestock management and cultivation
- Management of labour

(see questionnaire in Appendix 1).

Box 3.1: The age-set system

Maasai society is built on a system based on a division of the male population into age-sets, which are arranged hierarchically within a framework of authoritative positions and rules of appropriate behaviour. The rules pertain mostly to eating habits, labour and sexuality, and they govern relations between men of various age statuses as well as relations between women and men (Talle 1988: 92). Maasai males are divided into 3 major age categories (Talle 1988: 93):

- "boys" (olayoni, pl. ilayiok) from herding age of 6-8 to circumcision at around 14-18 years of age
- "warriors" (olmurrani, pl. ilmurran) from circumcision to the commencement of elderhood
- "elders" (olpayian, pl. ilpayiani) from about 30 onwards

Approximately every 15 years a new age-set is formed. Over a period of time all boys are circumcised and incorporated into this new age-set. Each age-set is given a unique name, and men advance from age-set to more senior age-set together. The table below shows the names given to each age-set upon its being opened with the circumcision of its first members, and the approximate period during which members were ilmurran. Whilst women are not members of age-sets, they can say which age-set they are of an equivalent age to.

Age-set	Years members were <u>ilmurran</u>
Ilterito	1926-48
Ilnyangusi	1942-59
Seuri	1957-75
Ilmakaa	1973-85
Landiis	1983-96
Irkiponi	1996-present

Based on Hodgson (2001: 23).

Considerable difficulty was experienced when piloting the questionnaire in eliciting accurate ages for people. This is a well-documented problem when working in isolated areas with low levels of literacy (Randall 1994). Attempts were made to minimise this problem by creating an event calendar consisting, amongst other things, of age-set and meteorological events. However, it was felt that for older people, exact ages were less

important, so for men of the Landiis age-set and older, and women of an equivalent age, only age-sets were recorded (see Box 3.1). Because age-set membership remains highly relevant to men's lives, with age-mates forming an influential peer group, these categories are important in considering social influences on individuals' behaviour.

Ilmarei were enumerated on a *de jure* basis, with respondents asked to list all people who usually lived in the olmarei, as this was more likely to ensure that all residents were enumerated given the high levels of short term mobility in the area. Checks were built into the questionnaire to ensure that all olmarei residents were included. For example, when asking about which individuals herded different types of animals, individuals not recorded on the household list were occasionally mentioned and added to that list if appropriate.

When developing and piloting the questionnaire a list of occupations was produced which were prompted for to ensure that these occupations were recorded for all individuals doing them. Other occupations which people were engaged in were also recorded. Sources of income other than from pastoralism, farming, or the occupations individuals were recorded as doing were also asked about.

Indirect estimation methods developed by Zaba were used to try to estimate levels of out-migration of individuals according to whether or not they had been to school (Zaba 1985). This data collection was built into the questionnaire, and involved asking all adult individuals who had been in the area since before they were circumcised about the locations and characteristics of their adult full-siblings. However, this technique proved less than successful, necessitating the use of 'listing methods' (see 3.5.3).

Information collected on livestock management included herd size, which individuals herded what types of animals, and whether any herding labour had been hired in the last year. Respondents were also asked whether they had moved their livestock, other than on a daily basis, in the last year. In terms of cultivation, respondents were asked about the amount of land they farmed, their harvests, the use of certain agricultural inputs, and the hiring of agricultural labour. Whilst reported harvests are likely to have been somewhat inaccurate, in part because people do not harvest all their crops at once or necessarily store them in uniformly sized containers, informants were generally able to at least estimate their harvests in terms of commonly used 100 kg sacks and 20 kg metal

containers. Respondents were able to give the size of their fields in acres, being familiar with this measurement because agricultural labourers are paid per acre.

Where it seemed apparent that informants were giving incorrect information, because they did not know or did not want to give the correct information, this was noted and poor quality data excluded from analyses.

3.5.2 Wealth ranking

Wealth categorisation has been used successfully amongst Maasai groups (see Grandin 1991). I have used a wealth ranking exercise in order to utilise local people's knowledge to provide an alternative measure of wealth to the herd data collected through the questionnaire, and in order to explore local ideas about wealth. A group of Ngosuk residents were asked to discuss the concept of wealth, agree upon a number of wealth categories, and to categorise all ilmarej according to these groups (see 10.2 for further discussion of this process).

3.5.3 Listings

'Listing exercises' were employed on a number of occasions, for somewhat different reasons. Firstly, they were used to obtain information on which men were considered to be the most skilled and productive farmers. Levels of cooperation over farming vary within and between ilmarej, so to understand the degree of influence and control exerted by different individuals over various farming decisions would have been difficult using a standardised questionnaire. In order to gather information on which men were responsible for successful farming, local knowledge on influence and control, and success in farming over a number of years, was utilised. Men of the Landiis and Irkiponi age-sets, both those who had gone to school and those who had not, were asked to list about twenty of the best farmers in Engare Naibor in these age-sets, in terms of the productivity of fields over the last few years, rather than the size of farms. Whether these men had gone to school or not was also recorded. A similar listing exercise was used to obtain information on which men were the most successful pastoralists and livestock traders. Informative discussions about the reasons for some individuals' success or lack thereof occurred during these interviews. Interviews in which informants

were asked to list who they thought to be the most successful pastoralists in particular involved discussions on ideas about success in pastoralism.

It became clear that the method employed to obtain information on migration out of the area (see 3.5.1) was not entirely successful in identifying all out-migrants, possibly because those answering the questionnaire were reluctant to discuss out-migrants, or to classify circular migrants as absent from the olmarei. Another way of obtaining information on young men who were in the process of circular migration to cities to work as guards therefore had to be developed. Through discussions with such men with whom I had good relations, it became clear that informants were likely to be very reluctant to divulge this information about members of their own family, or peers, unless approached with delicacy, because of the stigma attached to going to work as guards. It was decided that my research assistant Ernest would question young men without me being present, and obtain lists of as many ilmurran engaged in this work from Engare Naibor as possible. In this way a more comprehensive list of all the local young men who were doing this work was compiled, along with their levels of education.

3.5.4 Interviews

Through conducting the questionnaire, as well as through getting to know people in more informal settings, individuals were identified who were willing to be interviewed to elicit ideas about their schooling experience, and their understandings of the influence of schooling on their livelihood choices and decisions. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with seventy-two men and women of the Landiis and Irkiponi age-sets. Further interviews were conducted with a number of individuals in order to build up a more detailed understanding of the effects of schooling on their livelihoods. 30 interviews were also conducted with parents and teachers about how they understood the aims of schooling. Interviews were held with key informants on other topics. This interviewing process was very time consuming, not only because it was necessary to walk fairly long distances to interviewees' inkangitie, but also because they were often not there when we arrived.

It was important to be mindful of the image I was projecting of myself during the interview process, and also the image my research assistants were projecting of

themselves, and of me. As an educated female, working with educated local men, it is possible that respondents felt uncomfortable expressing negative opinions to me about schooling. Measures were taken to minimise these problems. For example, when introducing myself, I specifically said that I was not working for or with the government. I used strategies, such as asking why other people think or do what they do, in order to get information when the respondent seemed unwilling to identify him/herself with a certain opinion. Interviews and casual conversations became easier as people understood my purpose and began to feel more comfortable with me, and became aware of my increasing knowledge and understanding of the realities of life in Engare Naibor.

Interviews were taped, except in cases where interviewees objected. Taped interviews were later transcribed into English, although some sections were also transcribed in Maa or KiSwahili, allowing me to better understand the ways interviewees expressed their ideas, and the actual words they used.

3.5.5 Focus on families

Once the olmarei level questionnaire was completed, a number of ilmarei were selected to be the focus of further interviews and observation. In particular I looked at how decisions were made within these families over sending children to school, as well as at livelihood decisions which had been made within these families, and indirectly the influence of schooling on these decisions concerning farming, mobility, income diversification, and labour allocation.

Twelve ilmarei were selected, although the data obtained from each was of variable quality and depth. These ilmarei were chosen to reflect variation in levels of schooling, wealth, diversification, and the developmental stage of the family. They were also chosen on the basis of olmarei members being interested in and engaged with my questions and concerns. These studies of ilmarei consisted of interviews with different individuals, casual conversations, and participant observation.

These studies yielded rich material. Knowing these families in greater depth made the information obtained much more meaningful. Talking to different members of

households provided confirmation on some things, as well as revealing differences of opinion, and different perspectives on the same events.

3.5.6 Participant observation

In order to assess the correspondence of understandings gained from other methods with everyday practices, so as not to privilege what people say over what they do, I was a constant participant observer of daily life and the social practices of schooling.

Whilst many interesting things were observed at unexpected times, it was important to try to put myself in situations where relevant discussions or events were especially likely to be observed, or might be initiated. I spent a considerable amount of time in local schools, and attended community meetings. I also concentrated my attention on situations where Maasai and non-Maasai interacted, and participated in and observed different livelihood activities. I always had a notebook with me, and wrote observations down as soon as possible. I wrote up field-notes every evening.

In order to facilitate access to schools, to maintain good relationships with teachers, and because I enjoyed doing so, I taught weekly English lessons in Ngoswak Primary School and Engare Naibor Primary School, and for a brief period in Matala A Primary School. Permission to do this had, however, been sought from the District Education Office, and the teachers were fully aware of my research.

Participant observation not only provided understandings of processes occurring in the present, but also of things which were described as having happened in the past. There is likely to have been a considerable continuity over time of some processes, and in this way, observations in the present shed light on people's recollections of their schooling experiences.

3.6 Analysis

Quantitative data were analysed using SPSS. Qualitative data were coded and analysed using N6, a qualitative data analysis programme. This programme allowed me to code text according to various criteria, including respondent characteristics and the ideas and issues the extract concerned. It was then possible to retrieve text which had one or more

codes attached to it. This allowed me to quickly get an overview of all the data I had concerning, for example, a particular concept, or the views of a particular set of people on a certain topic.

PART TWO: SHAPING THE SCHOOLING PROCESS

Chapter Four: Global and national influences on the schooling process

4.1 Introduction

It is now clearly the time for us to think seriously about this question: ‘What is the educational system in Tanzania intended to do – what is its purpose?’ (Nyerere 1967: 5).

In this chapter I will examine how the development of pastoralist areas has been envisioned at international and national levels, and how these ideas have influenced the nature of education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania. The ways in which Tanzania’s unique political history has influenced the nature of the schooling process in pastoralist areas will also be considered.

4.2 Global agendas and discourses surrounding schooling for pastoralists

Whilst education for pastoralists in East Africa and beyond has often been neglected, some provision has been made. This provision has been heavily influenced by ideas about pastoralism and pastoralist development. In this section I will consider these ideas, and the ways in which they have affected education provision.

4.2.1 Understandings of pastoralist ecology

The way pastoralist ecology in Africa’s ASALs is understood has greatly influenced the form that development interventions in these areas have taken.

The ‘received wisdom’ of pastoralist ecology (Leach & Mearns 1996) is that pastoral systems are overstocked, overgrazed, degraded and unproductive (e.g. Lamprey 1983,

cited in Vetter 2005). Ecologically, these ideas are based on an equilibrium view of savannah ecosystem dynamics. According to this view, every environment has a carrying capacity determined by biophysical factors, and exceeding the carrying capacity in the long term leads to degradation. This view emphasises the role of stocking rates in vegetation dynamics, with livestock thought to drive rangeland degradation (see Illius & O'Connor 1999 for a review advocating this view).

The sociological assumptions upon which this view is based are that communally owned pastures will inevitably be degraded, and that herders' stocking rates are irrationally high. Overstocking, or the 'tragedy of the commons', is thought to be an inherent problem in communal ownership of the resource where individual benefit is maximized at the expense of the resource (Hardin 1968). Overstocking is also thought to result from people keeping more livestock than they need for a variety of reasons, including their preoccupation with cattle (e.g. Herskovits 1926).

These ways of viewing pastoral systems have come under considerable criticism regarding their underlying ecological and sociological assumptions, and the idea that communal rangelands are necessarily mismanaged is now widely challenged (e.g. Homewood & Rodgers 1987, Behnke & Scoones 1993, Sandford 1983). These critiques, developed in response to a growing concern that interventions informed by the 'received wisdom' were inappropriate and damaging to pastoralist livelihoods (Sandford 1983), have been termed the 'New Range Ecology'.

The ecological basis for this challenge is the theory that vegetation dynamics in drylands are not driven primarily by grazing pressure. Repeated livestock mortalities during droughts followed by slow herd recovery keep livestock below densities where they are able to overgraze the vegetation. Vegetation change is argued to be primarily dependent on rainfall, not livestock (Behnke & Scoones 1993). Proponents of the 'New Range Ecology' also understand mobility to be important in accessing the spatially and temporally variable resources in these environments.

Evidence has accumulated that pastoral stocking rates are in fact rational responses to environmental constraints (Dyson-Hudson 1980). Anthropologists and economists have shown that herd sizes enhance long term survival of household production systems during drought (Sandford 1983, Western & Finch 1986). Research has also suggested

that communal use of grazing land will not inevitably lead to abuse of the resource (Ostrom et al. 1999, Bromley & Cernea 1989).

The 'New Range Ecology' posits that mobility, variable stocking rates and adaptive management are essential for effectively and sustainably utilizing semi-arid and arid rangelands (Vetter 2005). However, government policies in Africa have been, and commonly still are heavily influenced by the 'received wisdom' of pastoralist ecology. Consequently policies have sought to reduce stocking rates and increase stability through discouraging mobility. Recently, the 'New Range Ecology' has become more influential in policy arenas. How this has begun to affect education provision for pastoralists will be discussed in Chapter Eleven.

4.2.2 The influence of ideas about pastoralist development on education policies

Ideas about pastoralist ecology, and other agendas of policy makers, have influenced education provision for pastoralists. Policy makers are in general not pastoralists. They tend to be urban elites with little understanding of, or tolerance for, the pastoralist way of life. As a consequence, policies concerning education provision in pastoralist areas have often proved antagonistic to that lifestyle.

Krätli (2000) has reviewed the history of the interaction of ideas about pastoralist development and pastoralist education policies. From this review, and from other available literature, it is apparent that formal education has commonly been seen by education providers as an instrument for: (i) increasing government control over pastoralists and transforming them into loyal citizens; (ii) settling mobile populations; (iii) encouraging pastoralists to farm; (iv) 'modernizing' pastoralism and increasing pastoral productivity; and (v) 'modernizing' pastoralists. I will consider each of these agendas in turn.

i) Increasing government control and transforming pastoralists into loyal citizens

Mobile pastoralist and agropastoralist populations inhabit remote areas which often span national boundaries. These populations are frequently marginalised minorities seen as out of step with wider society in the countries they inhabit (Galaty & Bonte 1991). For these reasons it has been argued that the provision of education has often been seen

as a good opportunity for the incorporation of pastoralists into states and into their hegemonic ideologies through cultural assimilation, as well as increasing state control over these populations and regions (Krätli 2000). Analysing public service provision to Bedouin in Israel, Meir pointed out how behind the government's efforts to ensure education provision there may be the intention to "sever Bedouin from their nomadic way of life, to sedentarise them, and eventually to control their locational patterns" (Meir 1990: 771). This is also true of the Iranian tent school programme, which to a large extent focused on nation building according to the dominant culture and politics (Shahshahani, 1995, cited in Krätli 2000). Similar situations have been reported for the Bedouin in the Negev desert (Abu-Saad 2006), and pastoralists in Kazakhstan (DeYoung, 1996, cited in Krätli 2000), Siberia (Habeck, 1997, cited in Krätli 2000), and India (Rao 2006).

ii) Sedentarisation

Rates of sedentarisation amongst pastoralists have increased dramatically in recent times (Fratkin 1997) as a result of various factors which will be discussed further in Chapter Seven. Encouragement by governments to settle down has been one important factor. The encouragement of sedentarisation, most probably as farmers, has for a number of reasons been accepted as a key component of development thinking for pastoralists (Anderson 1999). Sedentarisation is instrumental in increasing government control, and in constrained economic circumstances, the desirability of sedentarisation also reflects, from the providers' point of view, the considerable resource implications of providing education services to scattered, mobile populations (Krätli 2000). Even amongst pastoralist groups with more limited mobility, governments have been keen to concentrate these often sparsely distributed populations. For example, when discussing education provision, a local administrator in a pastoralist area in northern Eritrea reportedly stated that,

Congregating the villagers is the only solution for future development. We know people may not like it as it means losing their livestock production and social attachments. But, with all these there are more advantages on [sic] coming together (quoted in Mohamed Ali 2006: 80).

Other than these advantages of sedentarisation of pastoralists for governments, there have been other quasi-scientific reasons why governments have sought to sedentarise pastoralists, or by which they have justified this desire. Policies which have aimed to sedentarise pastoralists have, as was described above, been founded on the belief that mobile pastoralism is an inefficient and environmentally destructive subsistence strategy, and that sedentarisation would mitigate perceived problems such as land degradation from overgrazing. Whilst these assumptions have been called into question by the 'New Range Ecology', in practice the view that mobility is environmentally destructive remains prominent among policy makers and those who provide education services. Sedentarisation policies have also been founded on or justified by the belief that the sedentarisation of pastoralists will lead to economic, health, and nutritional improvements for them. These beliefs have also been called into question by contemporary evidence. For example, one study found that sedentarisation per se had neither positive nor negative implications on health and nutrition, and that these implications depended on the circumstances in which people settled (Fratkin & Roth 2005).

The 'myth of sedentarisation', as Krätli (2000) terms this belief by policy makers that sedentarisation of pastoralists is both inevitable and desirable, has affected education policies for mobile pastoralists (see Ezeomah & Pennels 2000). Education provision for pastoralist populations has almost always been static, and policy makers have been reluctant to adapt education provision to the lifestyles of mobile pastoralists.

iii) Encouraging farming

In much of Africa, most policy and decision makers come from social backgrounds which are oriented towards arable agriculture. The national perception of rural development is often formed and defined under the dominant influence of a crop-oriented agrarian culture (Parkipuny 1991: 24). The desire to encourage farming has informed education policies. Education provision in pastoralist areas has therefore commonly promoted the uptake of agriculture by pastoralists. For example, Kipury (1989) describes how in Kenyan Maasailand these views resulted in an education system designed to instil agricultural skills among the students and to discourage pastoralism. The promotion of agriculture in rural areas has also been intertwined with the aims of sedentarisation.

iv) 'Modernizing' pastoralism and increasing pastoral productivity

Another agenda apparent in many education policies for pastoralists has been the desire to improve pastoral productivity. Policy makers have been aware that within their respective countries, pastoralists control important national resources in terms of land and livestock. Education for pastoralists has therefore commonly sought to improve productivity for national markets through changing the aspects of the pastoralist production system viewed as unproductive, irrational, or environmentally destructive (Krätli 2000).

A prevalent assumption since the colonial period has been that pastoral people have an 'irrational' attachment to their livestock and that this leads to a management strategy in which livestock numbers are maximised regardless of the condition of the range. Colonial attitudes to indigenous pastoralists' 'irrational' management were articulated and given academic merit by the anthropologist Herskovits's article on "the cattle complex" (Herskovits 1926). Herskovits used this term to describe what he observed to be a set of beliefs among pastoral societies in eastern and southern Africa where the prestige value associated with cattle ownership appeared to overshadow their economic value to the point of irrationality. By 'complex' Herskovits meant a set of traits, and not an obsession, but the term quickly took on this meaning in the popular imagination. The irrationality of these traits was rejected by later researchers, who found that cattle-raising provided the economic infrastructure for a cultural belief system that centred on cattle, not the reverse (Galaty and Bonte, 1991). The idea that pastoralists 'overstock' the rangelands has also, as discussed above, been called into question. However, the widespread belief that pastoralists accumulate cattle in an irrational manner, preferring accumulation over selling their animals, and that these large herds consequently cause land degradation, has persisted and has informed and justified educational policies, curricula, and practices in pastoralist areas.

Education has been seen as an instrument to change pastoralists' attitudes and beliefs, as well as to introduce 'modern' knowledge and 'better' methods and practices (Krätli 2000). It has been seen as a way to transform traditional pastoralists into 'modern' livestock producers who use resources in ways which are thought to be more efficient and productive. For example, in Nigeria,

[the] nomadic education programme [...] is intended to enable the nomadic population to improve upon their productivity, especially given that they exercise a dominant control of the protein sector of our national nutrition (Aminu 1991: 51).

v) 'Modernizing' pastoralists

Whilst education provision has often been used to try to modernise pastoralism, governments have also used it to try and modernise pastoralists. Rao has argued that the 'backwardness' of rural people in general is an important word in the political and educational discourse of most states (Rao 2006). For example, in India children have been told through school textbooks that, "After (national) independence it was felt that the greatest obstacle for our country was represented by the backwardness of our rural citizens" (NCERT, 1989: 13, cited in Rao 2006: 80, translation hers). Policy makers and wider society in countries with pastoralist minorities often view these groups as 'backward', and desire to change them. This backwardness of pastoralists is not thought to be just with regards to livestock keeping, but to many aspects of their way of life. This is illustrated by the following comment made by a Tanzanian civil servant in 2006,

The Maasai think they are rich because they have lots of cows. We think they are poor because they don't develop their houses (cited in Randall 2006: 9).

As Hodgson explains with reference to Maasai in Tanzania,

The African elite that took power [after independence] embraced the modernist narrative with its agenda of progress. For them, the Maasai represented all they had tried to leave behind, and persisted as icons of the primitive, the savage, the past (Hodgson 1999a: 225).

4.3 Tanzania

I will now consider the historical processes and ideologies, including Tanzania's colonial history and the adoption of socialist policies, which have influenced education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania. Whilst there are many other pastoralist groups in Tanzania, this discussion largely focuses on the Maasai.

4.3.1 Education pre-independence

In the colonial period Tanzanian Maasai areas were isolated from many of the transformations occurring in other parts of the country. Hodgson argues that this occurred because “paternalistic sentiments about preserving Maasai culture were used to justify only minimal social interventions such as formal education” (Hodgson 1999a: 225). Until the 1940s, formal education opportunities for Maasai were extremely sparse, especially in comparison with opportunities for other ethnic groups. Education in Maasai areas in the early colonial period was provided largely by missionary organisations, which tended to focus more on the aims of evangelisation than of imparting academic knowledge or practical skills (Buchert 1994). Initially the Lutheran Church ran several small primary schools for boys, the first in Naberera in 1930. Hodgson describes the response of the Maasai to these schools as “ambivalent”, and reflecting the wariness of Maasai about both Christian evangelisation and western education.

In the inter-war period, the British administration gained increasing control of African education (Buchert, 1994). In the late 1940s shifts in British colonial educational policies were felt in Maasai areas in Tanzania. Previously, education policies focussed on ‘adaptation’. According to this philosophy, British rule was to preserve in the traditional societies and cultures what were considered by the British authorities to be “sound and healthy elements”, and to blend these with selected modern Western influences (Buchert, 1994: 8). Aims of “modernisation” then took prominence over adaptation largely in order to further economic development on capitalist lines. This resulted in an expansion of educational infrastructure in Maasai areas by the Native Authorities and missionaries (Hodgson, 2001: 130). Nonetheless, levels of provision for Maasai remained low. Hodgson gives attendance figures that reflect the uneven implementation and reception of education. According to Hodgson, only 10 percent of Maasai children attended school in 1951, as compared to 20 percent of Arusha or 64.5 percent of Chagga (other ethnic groups in Tanzania) (2001: 129). Levels of formal education amongst Maasai in Tanzania were low at independence (Hodgson 2001).

At independence in 1961 there was great enthusiasm for education within Tanzania. Education offered the new government a means of forging national unity (Court 1976, cited in Cooksey et al. 1994). Education was perceived by wider Tanzanian society to

be the means to economic and social development at a national level, and the route to employment and improved social status for individuals (Cooksey et al. 1994). In the immediate post-independence period, education policy in Tanzania reflected the urgent need to fill the manpower gap caused by the rapid departure of expatriate civil servants. However, Tanzanian education policies took a radical turn in the late 1960s with the implementation of Socialist 'Education for Self-Reliance' policies.

4.3.2 Socialism in Tanzania

By the late 1960s Tanzania was one of the world's poorest countries. Like many others it was suffering from a severe foreign debt burden, a decrease in foreign aid, and a fall in the price of commodities. The first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere, proposed a radical solution to these problems. The Arusha Declaration of 1967 committed the nation to a policy of African Socialism, or *Ujamaa*, which remained the guiding vision of his administration until his resignation in 1985. *Ujamaa*, a KiSwahili word meaning unity, cooperation, or 'family-hood', was premised on Nyerere's idealised representation of "traditional African society". In the golden age before exploitation and domination described by Nyerere, the means of production were communally owned and everyone contributed their fair share to the production of wealth and distributed wealth to the less able or fortunate (Nyerere 1968). The elimination of oppression and poverty became the supreme goals of development, and increased production the means (Århem 1985). Rural development policies were radicalised in accordance with the goals of the Arusha Declaration. Nyerere outlined a new strategy for the socialist transformation of rural society through the settling of the rural population in compact and permanent villages oriented towards agricultural production. The *Ujamaa* village was defined as a voluntary association of people living and working on communally owned land. The rationale behind villagisation was that only by living and working together for common goals could the peasantry achieve better living conditions and take advantage of modern technology to transform their traditional subsistence economies to economies of scale (Århem 1985). Another aim of this 'villagisation' process was to provide services to citizens more efficiently (Ndagala 1982). It also had the effect of increasing state control (Scott 1998).

In 1973 villagisation was made compulsory. Nyerere announced that all Tanzanians would have to live in nucleated villages by 1976. However, by this time there was no

insistence on communal farming, the socialist values which were the basis of these policies having receded into the background. Villagisation was seen as a necessary precondition for the modernisation of the peasant economies and the social development of the peasantry (Århem 1985: 22).

Inspired by a Pan-Africanist and socialist political philosophy, Nyerere forcefully downplayed the role of ethnic affiliation in public life, fearing that it would risk becoming a divisive element in a country with many ethnic groups, and instead emphasized a single Tanzanian national identity. A founding principle of Nyerere's ruling TANU political party was to fight 'tribalism' and any other factors which would hinder the development of unity among Africans (Abdulaziz 1980). The state therefore pursued policies aimed at constructing a secular national identity capable of uniting diverse social groups under the banner of African Socialism. Tanzanian citizens were encouraged to leave behind particularistic ethnic concerns, and adopt a new national culture (Campbell 1999). The promotion of KiSwahili in post-independence Tanzania was not merely an exercise in developing a lingua franca for a country with more than 120 ethnic languages. Indeed, as Nyerere argued when justifying why in 1962 he set up the new Ministry of National Culture and Youth,

I have done this because I believe that culture is the spirit and essence of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without spirit, which makes them a nation (Nyerere 1966: 186, cited in Kaare 1994, his translation from KiSwahili).

The newly formed ministry was charged with the responsibility of promoting KiSwahili not as a mere lingua franca but as part of the culture of the nation. KiSwahili was promoted as part of the broader project of creating a "Swahili nationality" (Kaare 1994).

The attitudes required of Tanzanian citizens had to be built. It was seen as important to change the attitudes of Maasai pastoralists in particular, whose aspirations were perceived by policy makers not to fit in with those of the Tanzanian nation. In 1971 Nyerere commented on the Maasai,

The Masai [sic] know that these things are possible - milk for children, clean water, good houses: these things are objective, desirable, necessary. But the

Masai don't easily accept the disciplines required. Clean water requires piping. That pond must be drained. Work! But it requires knowledge, technical know-how. Germany was virtually razed, and Japan, but they had the necessary attitudes and skills for reconstruction. So I have to build these attitudes (Nyerere cited in Smith 1971: 5).

4.3.2.1 Policies for pastoralism in Socialist Tanzania

Nyerere acknowledged that villagisation would be problematic for pastoralists, but thought that for such groups,

The move into a village, so that people live together and work together, may have to be accomplished gradually. But until it is done, real democratic and socialist living is impossible (Nyerere 1968: 141).

Until 1974 livestock development among traditional livestock producers in government policies had meant sedentarisation and a change from extensive pastoralism to mixed farming - intensified and modernised livestock production in combination with crop cultivation. In practice this continued, by and large, to be the view of policy makers and state bureaucrats (Århem 1985). However, after 1974 it was officially recognised that villagisation and development in pastoral areas had to be adapted to pastoral conditions. The concept of 'livestock development villages' - as distinguished from agricultural development villages - was created and obtained official acceptance (Parkipuny 1979: 154). In 1974-5 the villagisation programme was launched in Maasailand under the name of Operation Imparnati (permanent homesteads), with the purpose of settling the pastoral Maasai in livestock development villages. Planning and implementation teams were sent out from the district headquarters to inform the pastoralists about the operation and eventually to induce them to move into villages (Århem 1985). However, in Engare Naibor the resources provided through the villagisation programme focussed on agricultural development rather than livestock development. It is unclear to what extent activities in livestock development villages in other pastoralist areas actually differed from those in agricultural *Ujamaa* villages, but in Engare Naibor the concept of the livestock development village was not put into practice. Operation Imparnati has been described as a mere "lumping together" of sites around already existing trading centres (Parkipuny, 1979: 54). There was no popular mobilisation for specific purposes.

In some instances the level of persuasion was very crude and coercion did occur (Århem 1985). Despite its partial implementation, Operation Imparnati did have some profound consequences in pastoralist areas. For instance, villagisation imposed a new authority structure. The new hierarchy of political offices weakened traditional leadership and gave authority to younger, often educated, men. The move towards a more nucleated, sedentary settlement pattern was in conflict with previously transhumant lifestyles, and the resulting changes in land use patterns have influenced the practice of pastoralism. The villagisation process also facilitated the enrolment of children in school, and the allocation of land for farming.

An editorial comment in the "Daily News", the official party organ, from January 21st 1982 (cited in Århem 1985: 30-31) purported to summarise the central message of the official party guidelines in relation to livestock development. The stated long-term objective of the livestock policy was defined as bringing the traditional livestock keepers into the cash economy to improve their health and economic well-being. The editorial stated that the means of achieving this goal should involve,

educating our livestock keepers to abandon traditional beliefs associated with livestock ... [because] ... most cattle keepers associate wealth with sizes of herds owned by individuals and families ... [having] ... little if any awareness that such wealth is deceptive since the larger the herds, the more the danger of overgrazing.

Party and government leaders should

educate and persuade cattle keepers ... to de-stock in order to improve their own lives and to preserve the soils.

Development in livestock producing communities was considered possible only if traditional pastoralists settled down and adopted modern techniques of livestock keeping and learnt to integrate livestock keeping with farming.

Oxen can be used to pull ploughs ... and the manure can be used on the farms.

As this editorial comment illustrates, many of the ideas about pastoral development which have been influential globally have also informed Tanzanian government policy and practice.

4.3.2.2 Education for Self-Reliance

Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance policy (Nyerere 1967) was vital to his Socialist vision. Introduced in 1968, it contained within it a strong agenda of promoting a Tanzanian national identity (Buchert 1994). This policy channelled resources towards primary education and adult literacy in an effort to create a mass base for participatory socialist construction (Cooksey et al. 1994). By the late seventies the "social control element of educational policy ... [represented] the attempt to build up and diffuse mass understanding and internalization of those common attributes that together form the basis of Tanzanian citizenship" (Court 1979: 214, cited in Campbell 1999). "It was, in short, the intention that public education would turn peasants into modern Tanzanians" (Campbell 1999: 107).

Differences between groups of people were de-emphasised in accordance with Nyerere's government's fight against *ukabila*, or 'tribalism'. A series of measures relating to the curriculum and educational experience itself, and having a specifically socializing intent, was implemented. For example, the KiSwahili language was given greater emphasis, being made the language of instruction in primary schools in an effort to promote social integration. Schools were also required to develop self-reliance activities, typically a school farm, to support the running of the school financially. The fundamental objective of these steps was to submerge any sense of separateness arising from a student's regional origin or social background within the deeper national identity of socialist Tanzania (Court 1973).

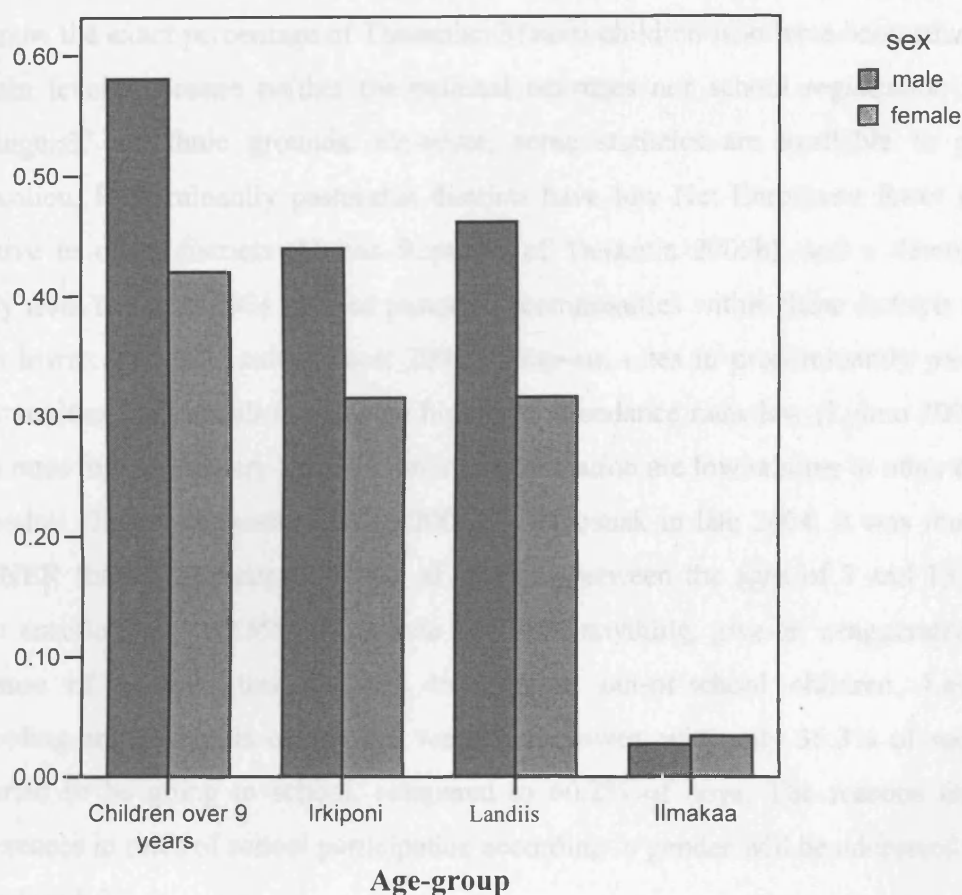
Aside from the self-reliance aspect, another aim of school farms in pastoralist areas in Tanzania was arguably to encourage cultivation as an important aspect of this national identity. This ignored, or displayed a lack of awareness of, the ecological unsuitability of many pastoralist areas for crop cultivation, or the conflicts between the requirements of extensive pastoralism and agriculture. The influence of the schooling process on the uptake of farming by pastoralists in Engare Naibor is considered in detail in Chapter Eight.

4.3.3 Education patterns in Tanzania and in pastoralist areas up to the present

Education for Self-Reliance policies resulted in the rapid expansion of primary school infrastructure throughout Tanzania. In 1973 the first school was built in Engare Naibor. In 1978 Tanzania's first Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive was initiated. An Education Act was passed which made primary enrolment and attendance between the ages of 7 and 13 compulsory nationwide⁴. At a national level, enrolments rose rapidly, increasing four-fold during the 1970s and continuing to rise until 1983 (Al-Samarrai & Peasgood 1998). This rise in enrolments can also be observed for the Maasai in Engare Naibor (see Figure 1, corresponding to rates for the Landiis age-set). However, in Tanzania as a whole this dramatic and rapid expansion at primary level combined with declining national economic performance and constrained government finances had a negative impact on education quality, and therefore on parents' desire to send children to school (TADREG 1993). The national gross enrolment rate (GER) declined from a peak of 96% in 1983 to an estimated 73.5% in 1990 (Al-Samarrai & Peasgood 1998). To address the economic crisis, the government adopted a structural adjustment programme that included the curtailment of public expenditure. Direct costs to households in terms of fees and contributions rose, and enrolment rates continued to decline (Al-Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998: 396). This decline at a national level is not evident for Engare Naibor's Maasai (corresponding to rates for the Irkiponi age set). Similarly, data collected by Hodgson in 1992 in three other Maasai locations in Tanzania showed that despite national level declines in enrolment, increasing enrolment figures by generation were apparent (Hodgson 2001). That rates of schooling did not decrease despite national level trends arguably reflects an increasing embrace of education by Maasai in Engare Naibor, although the increasing influence of state forces in the area is also likely to have helped to maintain these levels. The different trends seen for these Maasai populations compared to national patterns are also not surprising given the extremely low rates of education experienced before the 1970s.

⁴ The primary school cycle in Tanzania is seven years long, and consists of Standards 1 to 7. While the official age at which children are supposed to be enrolled is 7, many Maasai children in Engare Naibor were enrolled later, possibly because of parents' concerns about young children walking long distances to school.

Figure 4.1: Proportion of the Ngosuak population schooled according to age-group



Notes:

- Data from questionnaire (see 3.5.1)
- 'Schooled' individuals are defined as those who have attended school at all.
- 'Children' over 9 years includes all un-circumcised young people over 9 years of age. Those of the Irkiponi age-set were at primary school between the mid 1980s and the mid 1990s. The Landiis were at school between the mid 1970s and the mid 1980s.
- Only children over 9 years of age are considered because Maasai children often start school considerably later than the legally required age of 7 years.

The Tanzanian government eliminated primary school fees in 2001 as part of Tanzania's second UPE drive. This reflected the recent promotion of UPE policies by major international and bilateral donors. Rapid increases in enrolment figures have ensued in Tanzania as a whole, as well as in Engare Naibor. In Engare Naibor, as elsewhere, these rapid increases may be a reflection of the great pressure put on local government representatives to enroll large numbers of children, rather than a response

from parents. Despite these increases, pastoralist areas in Tanzania continue to lag behind the rest of the country in terms of enrolment and achievement in formal education (Lyimo 2003). It has been claimed that the Tanzanian national Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) for 2005 reached 95%, up from 59% in 2000 (Mungai 2005). It is difficult to know the exact percentage of Tanzanian Maasai children who have been educated to certain levels, because neither the national censuses nor school registration records distinguish on ethnic grounds. However, some statistics are available to give an indication. Predominantly pastoralist districts have low Net Enrolment Rates (NERs) relative to other districts (United Republic of Tanzania 2005b), and a demographic study from the late 1990s showed pastoralist communities within these districts to have even lower enrolment rates (Coast 2001). Drop-out rates in predominantly pastoralist communities in Monduli District are high, and attendance rates low (Lyimo 2003), and pass rates for the Primary School Leaving Examination are low relative to other districts (Monduli District Education Office 2005). In Ngosuk in late 2004, it was found that the NER (based on parents' reports of children between the ages of 7 and 13 having been enrolled) was 49.5%. These data would, if anything, give an exaggerated NER, because of parents' unwillingness to mention out-of-school children. Levels of schooling amongst girls of this age were much lower, with only 36.3% of such girls reported to be going to school, compared to 60.2% of boys. The reasons for these differences in rates of school participation according to gender will be addressed further in section 6.3.

Increasing numbers of Maasai young people are currently being sent to secondary school from Engare Naibor, which undoubtedly reflects the increasing value attributed to education, as well as the burgeoning of private secondary schools in Tanzania which resulted from the easing of state restrictions on private sector education (Al-Samarrai and Peasgood, 1998: 396). However, data from a relatively large scale study carried out by Trench and colleagues in Maasai areas recorded that only 20 individuals have attended, or are currently attending secondary school out of the 2798 people enumerated (Trench et al. 2007).

The contemporary situation in terms of more recent changes in education provision in pastoralist areas in Tanzania will be considered further in Chapter Eleven.

4.3.4 Curriculum, teaching materials and presentation by teachers

Examination of Tanzanian curricula and teaching materials illustrates one of the ways in which the discursive influences discussed above have been brought to bear on pastoralist societies in Tanzania through the schooling process. Examination of some of the text books which have been used in the study area reveal the sorts of ideas which have been promoted with respect to pastoralism and pastoralists.

One book which some of those who were students in the villagisation period recall using, “*Jifunze Kusoma: Ufugaji Bora wa Ng’ombe*” (Learn to Read: Better Cattle Rearing) (UNDP-UNESCO/ MOE 1972), was produced as an adult literacy teaching aid, but was also used in the schools in Engare Naibor. A fictional Ujamaa village called Igunabahabi is introduced, which is clearly intended to be a livestock development village. In one section it is stated that,

The plan of the village of Igunabahabi is not pastoralism on its own. The villagers need to farm commodity and subsistence crops in order to satisfy other needs. So they decided to separate a sufficient area which is fertile for the sake of farming. ... The villagers decided to do all farming activities in a socialist way (UNDP-UNESCO/ MOE 1972: 21).

In another section it is stated that,

In the beginning the villagers of Igunabahabi did not have enough pasture land to satisfy their cattle. They took them to pasture early in the morning, returning in the evening. In order to get more food they gathered straw and other pasture to feed the cattle when they were in the kraal. The livestock officer explained to them that cows which are milked need supplementary food (UNDP-UNESCO 1972: 27).

The villagers in Igunabahabi were also advised to plant grass in order to make straw and silage. It is clear from these extracts that what was being promoted was a shift from extensive mobile pastoralism to relatively intensive settled agro-pastoralism.

Currently there is little mention of pastoralism in the primary school curriculum. Some of what little is found in texts books used does not appreciate the rationality of aspects of the pastoralist system, and in general expresses negative attitudes about extensive pastoralism. This is demonstrated by the following extracts from primary school text books which are being used in Engare Naibor.

In one Social Studies textbook the Maasai are described as ‘pastoralists of ancient times’ [*wafugaji wa jadi*]. Under the sub-heading of ‘Modern Pastoralism’ [*Ufugaji wa Kisasa*], it is stated that,

In Tanzania, ranch pastoralism has various problems. One of these problems is the lack of large areas for pastoralism. This problem is there because many areas are dominated by pastoralists of ancient times like the Maasai (Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania 1998).

In another Social Studies book, there is a discussion of “the harm that comes from bad pastoralism” (Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania 1998: 109). It is stated that,

When many animals are herded in one area they finish all the grass and other vegetation and leave the earth bare. Also, the animals loosen the ground so that wind or rain erode and drive away the soil easily (Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania 1998: 109).

Ways in which “bad pastoralism” can be improved are suggested, and these include pastoralists doing the following:

- Reducing the number of livestock they have by selling them. This will allow them to have few animals which they can care for easily.
- Choosing better animals which give better products; that is better hides, lots of milk, better meat and lots of wool.
- Pastoralists should be motivated to use the research stations which are near the area’s farms so that they will finally be able to correct their ways of livestock rearing.

(Taasisi ya Elimu Tanzania 1998: 111).

In a Standard Three KiSwahili book, a fictional school-trip to visit Mr Msule, a farmer who keeps a few livestock, is described:

... Another student asked, “Sir, if these cows increase in number, will this building be big enough?” Mr Msule replied, “I will continue to rear just four cows. It is better to rear a few cows so that I can look after them well. To rear a lot of cows is a great expense. It is not easy to buy medicines and care for lots of cows. A few healthy cows are more advantageous than lots of cows that are weak” (Tanzania Institute of Education 1995).

Certain negative ideas about pastoralists, in particular the Maasai, are apparent in teaching materials. For example, in a Standard Six Science text book, in a chapter about the diagnosis and treatment of human illnesses, the benefits of going to hospitals over going to ‘witch doctors’ (*waganga*) are presented. Hospitals are presented as modern, in contrast to ‘witch doctors’, who represent all that is negative about ‘tradition’. A cartoon illustration shows a witch doctor peddling her wares in bottles on the side of a street. The ‘witch doctor’ is an old woman, and is apparently meant to be Maasai, wearing a wide band of beads round her neck, and wide metal bracelets.

It is important to remember that primary school teachers (except those primary school leavers recruited as UPE teachers) have usually had four years of secondary education, during which time they will have been exposed more fully to the detail of the state position on pastoralism and pastoral development, through what they encountered in teaching materials. Consideration of secondary school text books gives an indication of the sorts of ideas that those who have taught in primary schools in pastoralist areas in Tanzania will have been exposed to. Such books include, as the following extracts demonstrate, ideas about the ‘traditionalism’ of pastoralists which is an impediment to development, and pastoralist mobility being both a waste of time and environmentally destructive. An A-Level Geography text book describes how,

Tribal customs also affect the rearing of animals and growing of crops. For example, some tribes keep large numbers of animals for prestigious purposes while others [sic] for marriage purposes. They do not keep them for sale in order to improve their family life standards [sic] (Msabila 2002: 66).

Similarly, in another book, under a list of factors which are responsible for the “low productivity” of livestock in Tanzania, “traditionalism among livestock owners” is mentioned.

Most of the livestock owners, especially cattle keepers, are traditionalists. They do not easily accept to change their way of life. Some keep livestock for prestige, payment of dowry and for religious uses. Most of them tend to put emphasis on numbers of livestock rather than on quality. For example, ownership of many cattle is regarded as a sign of prestige and richness (Sibuga et al. 1993: 14).

One book lists the following as disadvantages of nomadic pastoralism:

A farmer wastes a lot of time moving from place to place. He/she cannot settle and engage in other activities like crop production ... Movement from place to place and overgrazing lead to the large scale destruction of vegetation. This in turn causes desertification and soil erosion (Msabila 2002: 120).

Stambach, in an ethnographic study of secondary education near Mount Kilimanjaro (1996), described both the discourses apparent in the agriculture syllabus, and how this syllabus was interpreted and delivered by teachers. Agricultural Science is still taught in most secondary schools in Tanzania today, following the syllabus published in 1976. In the course of studying farming at school, students are introduced to a theory of social development that posits the progression of social life through various economic stages, beginning with nomadic pastoralism, and progressing in a cultural-evolutionary fashion, from subsistence to communal, and ultimately to commercial farming and livestock management. The syllabus states that agriculture is important "to man in general and to Tanzania in particular" (Ministry of National Education 1976: 4, cited in Stambach 1996). Lesson 1a, for instance, is supposed to teach students that agriculture is a "cornerstone of civilisation", and was central to the development of great societies such as "Egypt and Mesopotamia" (Ministry of National Education 1976: 4, cited in Stambach 1996). The syllabus goes on to say that farming has been important more recently to the development of African societies. Teachers are instructed to provide examples from agricultural practices in Kilimanjaro, Mwanza, and West Lake Regions, where the sale of coffee and cotton has contributed to the development of the national

economy. According to Stambach, “as with many models that describe evolutionary processes, implicit in the economic scheme are categories of social difference that rank peasants above pastoralists, cooperative farmers above subsistence farmers, and certain social groups in Tanzania above others” (Stambach 1996: 550). Depending on the kind of agriculture and livestock management particular peoples practice, one group is portrayed as "more advanced" than another, and other groups as "less civilised". Stambach found this implicit hierarchy reflected in the comments of some of the teachers with whom she worked, including those of an agricultural science teacher who explained that one of the lessons that students ought to learn was that "Chagga and Haya" (two ethnic groups in Tanzania) are among the "more developed" societies in Tanzania, and that the Maasai "are still among the most backward". The science teacher put it much more directly than the syllabus itself states, for no ethnic groups are specifically mentioned in the official publication. However, when Stambach asked this teacher what led him to the conclusion that Chagga and Haya were more agriculturally developed than Maasai - noting that these groups were never mentioned in the syllabus - he responded that "oh, everyone knows it", and indeed it would seem that teachers in Stambach's fieldsite, and probably more widely, interpret the implicit categories of the syllabus in ways that reflect local views about social differences among various African communities (Stambach 1996).

4.4 Summary

In this chapter I have described dominant understandings of pastoralist ecology and discourses of pastoral development that more recent academic work has been critical of. These discourses, which are not supportive of extensive pastoralism, have influenced education provision. They have influenced the manner in which education has been provided, as well as what has been taught. Education provision in pastoralist areas has also been shaped by Tanzania's unique political history, in particular by villagisation and Education for Self-Reliance policies.

Chapter Five: Teachers, in-migrants, and the schooling process

5.1 Introduction

Like many pastoralists in the region, the Maasai in Tanzania have been relatively isolated from other groups until quite recently. Non-Maasai in-migration into Maasai areas gained momentum in the 1970s. These non-Maasai were sent by the government to provide services, and came in search of trade opportunities and casual labour opportunities working for Maasai. They have had a profound effect on the nature of the schooling process and the discursive negotiations it has involved. In this chapter I will use understandings gained through fieldwork to analyse some of the agendas and ideas brought to the schooling process in Engare Naibor by these in-migrants, including teachers.

This chapter draws on participant observation in Engare Naibor's schools and trading centres, as well as on interviews with non-Maasai in-migrants, including teachers. These interviews include some conducted with non-Maasai parents and teachers about how they understand the aims of schooling, and others with key-informants on other topics, including their recollections of local history and the nature of the schooling process.

5.2 The influence of non-Maasai

'Swahili' is the name of an ethnic group from the East African coast, as well as the national language of Tanzania. However, non-Maasai people in general are often referred to by Maasai in Engare Naibor as 'Swahili people' (*WaSwahili*). Maasai can also talk, dress, and behave in a 'Swahili' manner, and sometimes describe themselves and other Maasai who do so as 'Swahili'. 'Swahili' is sometimes used and accepted by non-Maasai in Engare Naibor as a way to describe themselves. The term 'Swahili' is also used in other parts of Tanzania by ethnically distinct groups to describe outsiders who they see as conforming to a homogenising Tanzanian identity, as well as by these outsiders (Arens 1975).

Arens (1975) described the way in which the 'Swahili' in one multi-ethnic community in Tanzania called Mto wa Mbu, which in many ways resembles the social situation in Engare Naibor, thought about themselves in relation to the surrounding Maasai, Iraqw, and Wambugwe populations. Arens argued that the failure of these 'Swahili' to identify with a specific local cultural group, and their adoption of a lingua franca, were qualities which were consistent with the development policies of the national government that wished to combat ethnic discrimination. These consistencies were often emphasised by those resident in Mto wa Mbu. They often contrasted their lifestyle with that of these other populations.

[They] consider their way of life far superior to that of their neighbours in the countryside whom they disdainingly [sic] refer to as '*watu wa kabila*' (tribesmen). They regard their own status as superior because to them it represents sophistication and modernity. They consider themselves to be the new bearers of the culture of independence and the wave of the future, while in their opinion the 'tribesmen' represent an archaic lifestyle more befitting the pre-colonial and colonial eras (Arens, 1975: 435).

As in Mto wa Mbu, those non-Maasai resident in Mairoua and other smaller trading centres in Engare Naibor tend to down-play their other ethnic identities in favour of presenting themselves as Tanzanian, and therefore aligning themselves with powerful national discourses⁵. The ideas about development in Engare Naibor held by non-Maasai in-migrants have, as was the case in Mto wa Mbu, been formulated in the context of their living surrounded by an ethnically distinct group. I will refer to the ideas formulated by these in-migrants in response to perceptions of the Maasai and their way of life as the 'Swahili discourse'. Non-Maasai in-migrants in Engare Naibor, as well as some Maasai, strategically employ this discourse, as well as other more official national discourses, to achieve certain goals and further certain agendas in particular situations.

⁵ Many social scientists, whose views on ethnicity are referred to as 'instrumentalist', consider that ethnic groups are "social constructs formed in relation to people's own immediate needs and to their relationships with others" (Spear 1993b: 15).

Although non-Maasai are a numerically small minority, the discourses they have employed have been very powerful in the Engare Naibor context, especially through the schooling process.

Teachers always communicate and attempt to teach more than what is set out in a curriculum. The phrase ‘hidden curriculum’ describes the attitudes, values and behaviours which are not part of a formally designed syllabus or curriculum and which teachers consciously attempt to encourage, or inadvertently communicate to their pupils (Masemann 1974). In Engare Naibor, this ‘hidden curriculum’ has included the promotion of Swahili discourse by teachers, the majority of whom are not Maasai. Moreover, learning also occurs outside the classroom, and the schooling process continues after an individual has finished school. In Engare Naibor, experience in the multi-ethnic environments which surround and include schools has been an important part of the schooling process.

School-children have spent a lot of time in the predominantly non-Maasai environment of Mairoua trading centre whilst going to school. Because of the dispersed nature of Maasai settlement patterns, and the fact that Engare Naibor Primary School was the only school in the area for a number of years, many children who were enrolled in school came from inkangitie which were too far away to allow them to go to and from school every day. Children came from as far away as the Kenyan border, about two days walk on foot. These children stayed during term time near Mairoua with Maasai friends and family, or with non-Maasai family friends or acquaintances in the trading centre. For a few years there was also a ‘children’s homestead’ near Mairoua (enkang oo nkeru, *boma ya watoto*) where school children lived with their mothers whilst the rest of their families migrated or remained in their more distant home areas. Children who went back to their inkangitie every day also spent time in the trading centre, at lunchtime or after school. For many children, this was their first experience of the trading centre, and of non-Maasai people and their different way of life. Children who did not go to school on the whole had very little experience of Mairoua. Even today, children who do not go to school only rarely have occasion to go there and are less comfortable in that environment. One boy of about fifteen who had never been to school told me that he was occasionally sent to buy something from one of the shops, but that boys who do not go to school “do not like to wander up and down”, but “the school-boys wander up and down after school”. Mairoua is also the site of the majority of

diversified livelihood activities, and the administrative centre of the area. Maasai who are using their schooling to do diversified livelihood activities, or who are trying to negotiate various services and outside institutions on their own behalf, or whilst assisting others who do not speak KiSwahili, generally go to Mairoua and interact with non-Maasai more often than their peers who have not been to school. In this way, the schooling process has greatly increased the degree to which Maasai and non-Maasai interact and led to Maasai who have been to school encountering Swahili discourse much more than is typical for those who have not.

The level of KiSwahili spoken and understood by Maasai children entering primary school in Engare Naibor was, and still is, minimal for the vast majority of children. This has greatly influenced their experiences at school. Exposure to KiSwahili whilst going to school, and the attainment by some of proficiency in KiSwahili, has been an important mechanism through which schooling has influenced livelihoods. With the exception of a few individuals who have taken it upon themselves to learn KiSwahili through determined effort, the majority of adults who have not been to school speak very little Kiswahili. Learning KiSwahili enables communication with non-Maasai, the majority of whom speak no, or only very basic Maa. Through taking part in, or over-hearing conversations, Maasai who are confident in KiSwahili are exposed to Swahili discourse, and may take part in the formulation and contestation of this discourse.

Negative attitudes of agents of the state toward villagers are widespread in Tanzania. For example, a village-level study of attitudes toward primary education found that parents believed that agents of the state, including teachers, generally looked down on peasant farmers. They felt that many teachers viewed the cultural or religious practices of villagers among whom they had been posted as backward (TADREG 1993). Negative attitudes of poly-ethnic, or Swahili communities to the more ethnically distinct groups amongst whom they live are also common. However, in Engare Naibor, ideas specific to the pastoralist context have been strong and recurrent themes in the Swahili discourse apparent in and around schools.

5.3 Swahili discourse on the Maasai

Many non-Maasai in-migrants now have assets and relationships in Engare Naibor, having been in the area for a long time. Some of these non-Maasai residents are the

children of the first arrivals, whose whole lives have been lived in the area. These non-Maasai, who have a lot invested in the area, want it to be 'developed' in accordance with their ideas about development.

The ideas held by non-Maasai in-migrants about development, or *maendeleo* (a word stemming from the verb *kwenda*, 'to go', 'move forward', 'to progress') are contrasted in the 'Swahili discourse' apparent in Engare Naibor with perceptions of Maasai values and the Maasai way of life. In Tanzania the Maasai are, and have for some time, been considered as 'resistant to change'. Nyerere himself referred to the Maasai as an example of the most backward of Tanzanians (Nyerere cited in Smith 1971: 5). Because of their distinctive way of life, dress, and customs, Maasai are viewed as especially traditional by other Tanzanians.

In-migrants in the early 1970s describe the area at that time as being *porini* (in the bush), and *Maasaini* (in Maasai). They talk about how few buildings there were in Mairoua trading centre, the absence of farms, the lack of a proper school, the abundance of wild animals, and the hostility of the Maasai towards them. Non-Maasai in-migrants in Engare Naibor did not, and do not now want to live *porini*, or *Maasaini*. They desire the services and infrastructure they were accustomed to in their places of origin. They also want Maasai to act in ways which they deem appropriate. These non-Maasai think that if more Maasai in Engare Naibor subscribed to their ideas about development, the jobs and activities of non-Maasai living, working, or trading in the area would become easier. For example, a non-Maasai livestock specialist who sells livestock drugs privately in Engare Naibor finds it frustrating that Maasai do not, according to him, buy all the types of drugs available, or in sufficient quantities. Teachers feel that their jobs would be easier if parents and the Maasai community in general supported the schooling project, and children were consequently more able and keener to learn. Many non-Maasai feel that they are contributing to *maendeleo* in Engare Naibor, and want to benefit from the *maendeleo* that they feel the Maasai majority should also bring, or at least see their Maasai neighbours stop the behaviours which they see as preventing it.

Aud Talle, an anthropologist who has conducted research in Namanga, a town on the Kenyan border, has described local elaborations on dominant development discourses employed by the non-Maasai minority there, especially elements which relate to the

Maasai who live in and around Namanga. Her analysis captures the situation observed in Engare Naibor very well.

In Tanzania, as elsewhere in East Africa, the concept of development is deeply embedded in notions and images of change, modernity and prosperity ... 'Development' (*maendeleo*, 'going forward') is more or less everything that is associated with the 'modern' as opposed to the 'traditional' (Talle 1999: 106).

By being 'traditional', the pastoral way of life brings the past into the present, a continuity that cannot be accommodated within this development discourse of progress. Talle described the narrative of "the Maasai as economically irrational and forever resistant to change" (1999: 107) which she encountered in Namanga. It is Maasai commitment to what are seen as 'traditional' (*mila*), or 'Maasai' things which, according to non-Maasai in Engare Naibor, is the cause of Maasai lack of *maendeleo*. Maasai 'do not know the meaning of *maendeleo*' because they are still following 'misleading traditions' (*mila potovu*). Commitment to tradition, or 'Maasainess', prevents Maasai from seeing the 'meaning' of and subscribing to the dominant discourse of development.

Non-Maasai understand that Maasai accumulate livestock without 'doing' anything with them. In Swahili commentaries on the Maasai it is understood that they do not use their livestock wealth to develop themselves because they irrationally value these animals above what they could buy. In this way they are 'poor', according to the valuations of non-Maasai of wealth and poverty, by choice. Talle discusses the expression which I commonly heard in and around Engare Naibor, "*Wana pesa, lakini ...*" (they have money, but ...). This expression points to the fact that while Maasai may have wealth in terms of livestock they,

do 'nothing' with their riches by converting them into material comfort, i.e. permanent houses, good hygiene, a composite diet or 'proper' clothes, their property 'serves no purpose' (*haina faida*) 'Development' commentaries routinely blame and ridicule the Maasai priority of livestock at the expense of the welfare of humans. 'Maasai poverty', as worked on in the development discourse ... would appear to be less an issue of destitution than of loose morals (Talle 1999: 115).

Maasai are seen to prioritise livestock over caring for their families in the ways deemed appropriate amongst residents of the poly-ethnic community of Mairoua. Mairoua residents are critical of what is viewed as the self-imposed poverty of many Maasai who, as my non-Maasai informants have told me, are unwilling to sell animals in order to pay for hospital fees, food for their children, or school expenses. The strength of these feelings becomes more understandable when it is considered that these non-Maasai have to live amongst this poverty (as they see it) and are affected by it. One non-Maasai woman expressed her frustration to me at people begging food from her tea-shop, and many are distressed by what they perceive to be the neglect of children. They think that these Maasai should sell animals in order to ‘properly’ care for their families. One young non-Maasai informant expressed these attitudes. She said,

Maasai have wealth but they do not know how to use it ... In [a more distant village] there are rich people who do not clothe their children (non-Maasai woman).

A joke told in my company by a Maasai man who had been to school to a non-Maasai friend illustrates how ethnic stereotypes about Maasai ignorance, and consequent inability to use their wealth in ways deemed appropriate, are worked upon. The joke described how ‘in the beginning’ a Maasai, a European and an Arab had to choose from wealth, intelligence and stupidity. The European took intelligence. The Arab took wealth. The Maasai took wealth and stupidity. Having appreciated the joke, these two individuals then went on to talk about local Maasai with large herds, and how they did not know how to make use of them. These ideas are expressed in and around schools and, as will become apparent in subsequent chapters, have influenced alterations in the ways Maasai in Engare Naibor think, amongst other things, about wealth, poverty, tradition and ignorance.

5.4 Combating *ukabila*

Non-Maasai in Engare Naibor frequently employ the national discourse surrounding *ukabila*, or ‘tribalism’ as local English speakers term it, although there are tensions between this and the Swahili discourse described above which they attempt to manage. Government policy in Tanzania has, since independence, aimed to reduce *ukabila*, explicitly understood to mean ethnic discrimination. This national discourse surrounding *ukabila* is evident in the way information on ethnic groups is not collected

in government censuses or surveys, and in statements such as ‘there is no *ukabila* in Tanzania’ frequently made by those attempting to align themselves to this official stance. Ethnic categories are not accorded significance in this discourse.

Non-Maasai in Engare Naibor wish to see less significance being accorded to being Maasai (talking, dressing, and generally acting in a Maasai way with Maasai priorities), and more to being Tanzanian and conforming to a national identity. The agenda which was prominent in Tanzanian policies, and which is still apparent, of constructing a secular national identity capable of uniting diverse social groups, has been given a particular emphasis by non-Maasai in Engare Naibor. The term ‘*mchanganyiko*’, meaning a mixture, is often used in conversations about the desirable ethnic composition amongst teachers, pupils, and citizens. Non-Maasai in Engare Naibor fear Maasai according significance to ethnic identities. They fear *ukabila*, and the situation in the area becoming (or remaining) ethnically charged. They perceive *ukabila* to be a threat to their livelihoods in the area. Non-Maasai residents talk about Maasai having been hostile and aggressive to them when they arrived. One man who came in about 1972 for trade described the situation at that time,

It was in the bush. People hated modern clothes. They were fierce. To go to the *boma* (Maasai residences), you had to go with a Maasai friend, or you would be beaten (non-Maasai man).

Early non-Maasai arrivals experienced Maasai hostility and continue to fear it. This hostility is sometimes apparent at the present time, including in schools. One man explained that,

Still there is discrimination (*ubaguzi*). For example, when the children fight [in school], especially the Maasai and *irmeek* (non-Maasai, s. *ormeeki*), you will see the Maasai coming together to beat the *irmeek*, “Hit him, he is an *ormeeki*” (non-Maasai man).

Tales of inter-ethnic violence are still heard. For instance, when sitting one day in a tea-shop and talking to the non-Maasai woman who ran it, she told me about a recent incident in a nearby trading centre. According to her, the incident occurred when a non-Maasai woman argued with an *olmurrani*, and resulted in this woman’s family being beaten and cut. This tea-shop owner then told me that “all Maasai are bad”, and that “if there was a war, they would all get out their machetes”.

Some non-Maasai in-migrants see *ukabila* as a threat to their livelihoods from violence. Some also see it as a threat through Maasai with power and influence, often those who hold political positions in the area (which are almost exclusively held by Maasai), directing benefits from government and NGO projects predominantly at Maasai. For example, I asked a non-Maasai man about an NGO seminar on business skills being held in the area, which several Maasai men I knew were attending. He had not heard anything about it or been invited, and responded that the Maasai man running it had “*ukabila*”. Non-Maasai also resent the unwillingness of Maasai holding government leadership positions, acknowledged by Maasai and non-Maasai alike, to give out trading centre plots or farmland to them. One non-Maasai explained that,

There is still *ukabila* in Engare Naibor. Maasai used just to want to stay by themselves, but now they are starting to understand that benefits come from mixing with other people. *Ukabila* is still apparent though, because it is hard for land to be granted to a non-Maasai, as Maasai want to keep their land for the Maasai only. Maasai differentiate between Maasai and Swahili. They do not want people to come in even if they bring *maendeleo*, so if others wanted to come and build a factory, the Maasai would not let them (non-Maasai man).

Non-Maasai have in various circumstances taken up the national rhetoric which declares that there should be no *ukabila* in Tanzania in support of their agenda of decreasing Maasai hostility and discouraging Maasai discrimination against them. *Ukabila* is commonly understood by non-Maasai in Engare Naibor as a threat to highly valued national unity, but it is also viewed more pragmatically as a threat to their more immediate interests.

Non-Maasai want to see *ukabila*, as it is presented in national discourse in terms of discrimination according to ethnicity, reduced. They also see Maasai identities and many Maasai behaviours as antithetical to *maendeleo* and desire to see them eliminated. So at the same time that non-Maasai often employ the national discourse surrounding *ukabila* which is critical of ethnic discrimination, many also denigrate aspects of the Maasai way of life through employing what I have termed the ‘Swahili discourse’. In the same conversation, a non-Maasai person in Engare Naibor might express a desire for *ukabila* to be eliminated, and then say something highly critical about ‘Maasai’ behaviour. Non-Maasai are often critical not only of Maasai hostility and discrimination towards them, but also of Maasai reluctance to conform to a homogenised Swahili identity. The powerful national discourse surrounding *ukabila* has been co-opted to help

to justify and promote non-Maasai desire to discourage Maasai ethnic identities and behaviours viewed as 'Maasai'.

In practice non-Maasai are careful not to make their negative attitudes too clear to Maasai, as illustrated by an incident which occurred when my Maasai research assistant's younger brother Tende⁶ was staying with us in another small trading centre in Engare Naibor. We were eating in the tea-shop of an Arusha woman. This woman's young child said of Tende, "Has he washed his hands?" There was an uncomfortable silence. The child said this because he thought that Tende, as a "*boma* child" (an expression we had heard him use on previous occasions), was likely to have poor hygiene and be dirty. His parents were embarrassed and later on asked him, "What ethnic group are you?" The child said Arusha, which was, according to his father's apparent annoyance, the wrong answer. He was supposed to say Maasai. The Maasai and Arusha are understood to be closely related groups, although the closeness of this relationship is emphasised or repudiated in an instrumental way (at least by those old enough to understand the implications of the social situation). The child had let his parents down by making his, and by implication their negative opinions about Maasai explicit in front of my Maasai research assistant.

Whilst Swahili discourse is critical of Maasai difference, at the same time non-Maasai in Engare Naibor cannot allow this opposition to be too apparent, for fear that this would provoke Maasai hostility. For example, a non-Maasai woman who accommodates Maasai children in her home while they are going to school in Mairoua tries to teach these children that certain 'Maasai' behaviours are wrong. However, she is aware that if she were too explicit in this aim, it would anger the children's parents.

An incident that occurred at Engare Naibor Primary School's closing assembly at the end of term, illustrates the way Swahili and *ukabila* discourses are used strategically in different contexts. Teachers in Engare Naibor Primary School often employ Swahili discourse, in particular a Maasai/Swahili dichotomy, in ways that denigrate Maasai culture and the Maasai way of life, and this is copied by children. However, in certain contexts, teachers are keen to deny that this occurs, and call on national discourse surrounding *ukabila*, in ways reminiscent of Bourdieu's 'officializing strategies' (1977), to justify and legitimise their behaviour. This incident occurred when the teachers and

⁶ The names of all individuals mentioned, with the exception of Steven Kiruswa, have been changed.

pupils were all seated outside under a large tree. As it was a Monday, adult Maasai were wandering through the school compound on their way to and from the weekly market. The head-teacher gave the pupils the opportunity to say what they would like to be discussed in the closing assembly. Some of them stood up one after another with suggestions, one of which was that the use of 'mother-tongue' languages should be discouraged. When she got to this point, the head said,

Speaking your 'mother-tongue' is one thing which prevents you from knowing how to read and write properly.
You should all speak KiSwahili as it is the national language (non-Maasai teacher).

Pupils were then allowed to give their opinions on this point. One pupil said, without mentioning Maa, that those that speak their 'mother-tongue' should be fined 500 Tanzanian Shillings (TSh). Other pupils suggested that the punishment should be doing 'frog jumps', fencing the school compound, or smearing the school kitchen hut. These suggestions were taken on board by the teachers. Another pupil said "those who speak Maa should be disciplined and punished". In practice Maa is the only 'mother-tongue' spoken in the school, as non-Maasai children in Mairoua are most comfortable speaking KiSwahili. However, the head-teacher responded to the suggestion that speaking Maa, in particular, should be punished. In an annoyed tone she said, "but how about those who speak KiChagga?"

The salient point to be drawn from this incident is that the teacher was annoyed at the overtly anti-Maasai implications of the suggestion that the only 'bad' mother-tongue spoken in the school was Maa, not the suggestion that speaking 'mother-tongues' was bad in itself. The teacher in fact agreed with the idea that this should carry some punishment. The teacher became annoyed because she was not willing to allow explicit anti-Maasai attitudes to be voiced by pupils in the relatively official and public context of the assembly, as she was uncomfortable with what she saw as the explicit expression of an agenda of combating Maasainess rather than creating Tanzanians. In the context of the assembly the teacher felt it necessary to employ the national discourse on *ukabila*, but in everyday classroom interactions ethnic terms and labels are constantly used, and negative understandings of the Maasai way of life and a Maasai identity, referred to here as the Swahili discourse, are promoted. According to the specific context teachers as well as other non-Maasai in-migrants use and deny ethnic categories, and employ Swahili discourse or national discourse on *ukabila*.

The significance of the way in which non-Maasai in-migrants to Engare Naibor employ Swahili discourse and national discourse surrounding *ukabila* strategically in different situations will become more apparent in Chapter Eleven when current policy debates are considered.

5.5 Swahili discourse and education

Ideas about education and what it does and should do in the Engare Naibor context are very apparent in Swahili discourse. Non-Maasai in Engare Naibor are critical of what they perceive as Maasai reluctance to send children to school, and often express satisfaction at rising enrolments in the area's primary schools, and the increasing numbers of Maasai children being sent to secondary school. They try to encourage Maasai to send children to school. This 'encouragement' of the schooling process has been going on for many years. In the early 1970s the desire of some non-Maasai in-migrants to see Maasai children go through the formal education process was manifested when they took part in government-led operations to forcibly put Maasai children in school. This process is referred to, by non-Maasai and Maasai alike, as the 'capture' (from the KiSwahili verb *-kamata* and the Maa verb *aibung*) of children. Groups of government workers and non-Maasai volunteers armed with guns went from homestead to homestead picking children of the right size for school. They worked at night, surprising Maasai families while they were sleeping, intimidating them into relinquishing their children through the threat of violence.

Non-Maasai want Maasai children to go to school for several reasons. Firstly they want Maasai to go through the formal education process because they think that schooling will result in these Maasai getting jobs and positions which will allow them to direct resources into the area. They also want Maasai children to go to school because: (i) valuing schooling is an important part of **being** Swahili, and (ii) because they are aware that schooling can promote the uptake of discourses, and livelihood choices which they approve of.

The attitudes to schooling found in Swahili discourse in Engare Naibor are formulated in contrast to perceptions of Maasai attitudes. These perceptions of Maasai attitudes to education are illustrated by the following incident which occurred in Engare Naibor Primary School. This incident also demonstrates how negative ideas about Maasai

values, in this case concerning education, are communicated to children through the schooling process. In a Standard Two Maths lesson the teacher taught for a while, and then told the pupils to do questions from their text books. I was peering over some children's shoulders and she loudly said, as if in explanation for the poor writing and maths skills I was witnessing, that "Maasai do not like to learn".

Varvus, in her study of schooling in a non-Maasai area in northern Tanzania, investigated what she described as "one of the dominant themes in development discourses from the colonial period to the present" (Varvus 2003: 7), which is highly evident in Swahili discourse in Engare Naibor. She uses the concept of "education as panacea" to describe "the enduring faith that schooling will effect profound social change in the Third World, even in places where political-economic conditions make such transformations highly unlikely" (Varvus 2003: 7). Other scholars have described similar phenomena in Tanzania, such as Stambach's phrase "schools-to-the-rescue" (Stambach 2000: 11). In Engare Naibor, taking up and acting upon these values, this 'enduring faith' in schooling, and being seen to do so, is an important part of being and acting Swahili. A great deal of symbolic value is attributed to schooling, well beyond the substantive benefits which have resulted, or are likely to result from it. However, as Stambach's ethnography of schooling amongst Chagga people near Mount Kilimanjaro documented, whilst many Chagga are undoubtedly enthusiastic about education, having received education and experienced benefits from it relatively early compared to the Maasai, many of the same debates over and objections to schooling that occur in Maasai society are still evident in Chagga society. The Chagga in-migrants to Engare Naibor do not present the situation in their place of birth this way in Engare Naibor. They talk about many of the objections Maasai parents have to education as being problems with Maasai society. One Chagga resident of Engare Naibor told me that,

Maasai round here have so many cows, but they do not send children to school. A Chagga would sell everything in order for a child to be educated (non-Maasai woman).

Valuing schooling and promoting this view is an important part of being and acting Swahili, as this attempt by a non-Maasai to emphasize how different her values are to those of the Maasai illustrates. However, many non-Maasai may actually benefit from, or at least derive satisfaction from the outcomes of Maasai children going to school, through the schooling process resulting in some Maasai subscribing to their ideas about

development. Through the schooling process Maasai children should learn that the ‘Maasai’ behaviours described above ‘have no meaning’, and should learn the ‘meaning’ of Swahili ideas, values, and practices. The schooling process is understood in Swahili discourse to help create such ‘understanding’ or ‘enlightened’ people (*Waelewa*, s. *Mwelewa*), as they are termed in Engare Naibor. *Waelewa* are thought to contribute to development as conceptualised in the Swahili development discourse. One educated Maasai informant explained what the term ‘*Mwelewa*’ means in this context.

When a Swahili says ‘*Yule Maasai ni Mwelewa*’ (that Maasai is enlightened), they mean that that Maasai is a modern person who is not rigid but flexible. He takes advice from others and he also advises others. A *Mwelewa* is different from others in that he has some elements of education, and if he is not educated he does things which are similar to those done by educated people. An educated person is expected to own a modern house, send children to school, be clean, disciplined, and social, having no discrimination between Maasai and Swahili ... Such a person thinks that the Swahili are normal people like Maasai people are, unlike someone who is not a *Mwelewa*, who thinks that the Maasai are more important than the Swahili (Maasai man, Irkiponi, secondary school).

Non-Maasai, and Maasai who have come to employ Swahili discourses, are aware that schooling can create *Waelewa*. Non-Maasai often evaluate the success of schooling not only in academic terms, whether a child has passed exams or not, but also whether a child has changed and become what they expect of an “educated person” (Levinson & Holland 1996), whether a child has become a *Mwelewa*. For example, when asked whether she saw any differences between Maasai children who had gone to school and those who had not, one non-Maasai informant explained that, “The difference is education. They’ve become a bit enlightened (*wamekuwa Waelewa kiasi*)”. When I asked what she meant by this she replied that, “They despise traditional (*mila*) things”. Swahili discourse is also critical of those Maasai who have been to school but do not behave in a way that shows they have been sufficiently changed by the schooling experience. For instance, non-Maasai in Mairoua criticise Maasai who have been to school who do not want, or do not feel confident enough, to speak KiSwahili, or continue to wear very traditional clothing. They accuse these Maasai of trying to ‘hide their education’.

Non-Maasai in Engare Naibor, including teachers, talk about the Maasai not liking to mix with other ethnic groups, and the necessity of them integrating into Tanzanian society through learning KiSwahili, and learning to live with other ethnic groups. Schooling is seen as an important way to achieve these goals, through the creation of

Waelewa who relate well with non-Maasai and who do not show discrimination on the basis of ethnicity. One teacher who has been in the area for eleven years described his pleasure when former pupils relate to him better than their peers who did not go to school. He told me,

Sometimes you see some characteristics which show they have gone to school. For example they may remember their teachers, and you sometimes hear them praising their teachers, saying he was a good teacher. Others buy me a soda. This shows that they are *Waelewa*. They also show respect to the teachers when they see them out of school, which is different from those who have not gone. Also, they speak KiSwahili, the national language, which makes them different (non-Maasai teacher).

5.6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have shown that an important aspect of the schooling process has been the exposure of Maasai children to the different way of life and ideas of non-Maasai teachers and others encountered in and around schools. While going to school, children have been involved in social interactions which differ from those experienced by their peers who have not gone to school. Non-Maasai, both teachers and others, have promoted a Swahili discourse through the schooling process that has been formulated in opposition to ideas about the Maasai amongst whom they live surrounded. In many contexts teachers and non-Maasai in-migrants have been very critical of what they see as pastoralist values and culture, and the maintenance of a strong Maasai ethnic identity. A non-Maasai agenda being played out through the schooling process in Engare Naibor is that of making Maasai conform to a Swahili identity and the Swahili discourse of development. I have also shown how the national discourse surrounding *ukabila* has been co-opted and re-formulated in the Engare Naibor context to better further non-Maasai agendas, and that this discourse has informed the schooling process.

Schooling has been relatively effective in promoting Swahili discourse because in front of an audience of children, teachers and non-Maasai do not have to modify the ideas they present to avoid negative responses in the same way that I have demonstrated they do when relating with, or under the scrutiny of Maasai adults. In subsequent chapters the ways in which encountering this discourse has shaped the schooling process will be explored further. How Swahili discourse has influenced the livelihood choices of Maasai who have gone to school will also be examined.

Chapter Six: ‘Getting out’ but not ‘getting lost’ - Maasai experiences and changing understandings of schooling

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will examine the experiences of schooling of Maasai in Engare Naibor. I will explore the nature of the schooling process, and how Maasai have made sense of it. I will also examine the ways in which Maasai understandings of schooling, and ideas about how it should be used, have evolved in the light of experiences of its impact on their lives after finishing school, and the lives of others who went to school.

6.2 Maasai experiences of the schooling process

This section draws on interviews with Maasai who had been to school about their schooling experience. It also draws on participant observation and more informal conversations.

6.2.1 Maasai reactions to the first school in Engare Naibor

The first school was set up in Engare Naibor in 1973, and children now part of the Landiis age-set were the first pupils. Before that time, very few Maasai from the area had attended the boarding school in Longido. Household survey data reveal that 37.5% of individuals of the Landiis age-set and women of equivalent ages have been to school, compared to 3.0% of those of the older Ilmakaa age-set. Recollections of the setting up of Engare Naibor Primary School shed light on the ways Maasai in the area reacted to schooling.

The term ormeeki (pl. irmeek) is critical to a consideration of Maasai ideas about education. According to Hodgson (2001),

ormeek [sic] was a term initially applied to all non-Maasai Africans, especially those who went to school, spoke Swahili, worked in the government, or were

baptized. They were often symbolized, for Maasai, by their outfits of trousers, shirts, and occasionally jackets. In time, however, the term was used to mark, mock, and ostracize any Maasai man (and very rarely woman) ... who imitated Swahilis Later the term was used to stigmatize Maasai men who went to school or were baptized (Hodgson 2001: 64).

For Maasai, the term has been laden with contempt and associated with poverty, as many of those who initially acted in these ways were those who were least able to maintain themselves within the pastoralist system. Hodgson describes “ormeek” as,

an implicit critique of all that modernity represented to Maasai: education, institutionalised religion, even the political structure and language of the nation state. ... As opposed to the ideal of Maasai men as pastoralists, for example, irmeek were ignorant of herding and cattle (“meyiolo ataramat inkishu,” lit. “they did not know how to care for/about cattle”). The use of ataramat, from the verb eramatare, is significant here, as eramatare denotes more than just herding (enkirritare) but encompasses all aspects of cattle care. To care *for* cattle one must have the pertinent animal husbandry knowledge, but to care *about* cattle implies an emotional bond and commitment. Given the centrality of caring for and about livestock to Maasai pastoral identity, economic production, social organization, and prestige structure, this statement marks irmeek as profoundly not-Maasai (Hodgson 2001: 252).

Schooling was introduced on an expanded scale in Engare Naibor during the period of great social disruption caused by villagisation, and these disruptions, including the setting up and filling of Engare Naibor Primary School, were very much viewed as being imposed from outside by ‘the government’, or by irmeek in order to change the Maasai. This way in which schooling was presented and understood in this period helps to explain Maasai fear that schooling would cause children to become irmeek, and Maasai opposition to the process. An interview with an elderly Maasai man of the Iseuri age-set illustrates the recurrent themes of education having been presented to, and understood by Maasai as something aimed at eradicating their ‘backwardness’ and ‘ignorance’. This man described his recollections of the villagisation period, when the first school was built in Engare Naibor.

There was a leader. He was the first educated person here. ... He called a meeting in Mairoua. He said he was sent by the government. The other Maasai said 'What is the government?' He told them that the government said Maasailand had to be changed, so the Maasai would no longer be ignorant [irmoda]. Then he told them of the villagisation plan, and said they should not agree as it was an irmeek thing. When the people refused villagisation, the government imposed force. The government came enkang to enkang and told people where to live. The government threatened court action. The government then built schools (Maasai man, Iseuri, no schooling).

Our conversation then turned to Sokoine, the late Maasai Prime Minister of Tanzania, who visited Engare Naibor prior to the villagisation period.

He informed us that the government had arranged to come and educate us because, as he said, we were still backward, and had been left behind in terms of education. Nobody wanted to send children to school though. They said they would become irmeek and get lost. Many children were sent by force, as was one of mine (Maasai man, Iseuri, no schooling).

6.2.2 Maasai opposition to the schooling process

Most of the first children to go to school were sent against the will of their parents, who faced legal action and heavy fines if the children registered did not attend. In fact, many Maasai children were, as it is termed locally, 'captured' by non-Maasai working on behalf of the government. One man who was involved in this capturing in the early years of Engare Naibor Primary School described an incident which illustrates how children were taken under the threat of violence, very much against the will of their families. He described how they entered a house and found an elderly Maasai man asleep inside with seven girls. They woke him, shining a torch in his face.

When we did that, the old man said "I do not give permission for you to take even one girl from here". He held his knife, wanting to cut us. Then I told my companion, "Go ahead of me, but do not shoot. Let's just scare him". I switched off the torch and I told him "We are going to kill you" ... [this non-Maasai man then made a noise with his gun] ... "Then he thought it was a bullet, he wanted to get out of the house but he could not, he cried, 'Woi! Woi! Don't kill me! Don't kill me!' We told him to keep quiet, then he told us to take them all, and we took all of them (Non-Maasai man).

To avoid their children being selected to go to school, or taken by force, many parents sent their children away to stay with friends and relatives elsewhere, or to stay in the bush. One elderly woman recalled thinking that it would be better for her children to be eaten by wild animals than to be taken to school. The reluctance of parents, and the

often frightening manner in which children started school, affected the way children at that time thought about and responded to the schooling process. One Maasai woman told me about when she was ‘captured’ and taken to school. Her recollections illustrate the terrifying nature of the commencement of her schooling, and the negative association of schooling with becoming irmeek which she was made aware of by other Maasai.

When I went there first I was shocked and I was crying because I was taken by irmeek. Other children were hidden, others were sent as far as Kenya, but I was among those who were captured. So when we went and saw the irmeek, some of whom had guns, some of us were crying and others were scared. We did not know where we were. We were already irmeek then, because we were surrounded by irmeek with guns. ... We were scared because we had already become the children of irmeek and not of Maasai (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

She elaborated on how she was made aware of the negative attitudes of those at home to the schooling process,

So when we were coming back home we told those not going to school that we were taken by car to Mairoua, we saw white houses [houses with corrugated iron roofs] and people wearing Swahili clothes not Maasai, so we kept on telling those stories until we were used to it all. The other people were never used to us though. When we were coming home, when we got near the gate, those at home would say ‘are the school children coming, they smell like irmeek’. But we were used to it (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

Those who went to school recall being sung a song by other Maasai, which warned them that ‘the pen’ might cause them to ‘get lost’, and to reject pastoralist values and the Maasai way of life in favour of the ways of thinking and acting that schooling was thought to promote.

You, young boy of school, who has slim hands. Be careful so that your pen might not mislead you to Moshi [a town in northern Tanzania], and make you forget about Koilel's [a cow's name] froth.

Another phenomenon which would have made clear to children the strength of their parents’ opposition to schooling was ‘cursing’. Parents got ritual experts (iloibonok) to use ‘charms’ on their children so that they would be resistant to the schooling process. This was thought to be effective through making it difficult for children to look at books or hold pens. As one man who was ‘cursed’ explained, “In school it was very effective. If I read a book, tears flowed from my eyes”. He explained why he was cursed,

My parents thought that if I went to school I would go and not return. My parents wanted us to be clever, but it was said that if you became clever like you are now [talking to my research assistant], you would not like home (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Children were also made aware of their parents' opposition to the schooling process when their parents complained of the lost labour of school-children.

When I was going to school, my parents did not think that this child of mine will come to help me. The only thought they had was that the children were taken by enemies (*ilmang'ati*). So they did not think about any help they could get from us going to school. They were just crying over calves, firewood, and water (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

6.2.3 Exposure to the Swahili social context and discourse

Whilst in Mairoua, children observed different types of buildings to the mud and thatch huts they were used to; They ate different foods when they were fed by non-Maasai; They saw commodities available in the small shops, and people making a living in different ways; They saw people farming successfully and benefiting from their harvests. Many of these former pupils recall thinking that the way of life of people in Mairoua was easier than the way of life they were used to. For example, they saw people using the more easily available water, and owning many material possessions. Girls still at school now who have spent some time living in Mairoua talk longingly about how people in Mairoua “wash all the time”.

Many former school children recall associating the things to which they were exposed in Mairoua trading centre, which many of them came to want, with schooling and school cleverness (*eng'eno e sukuul*). They understood that the way to obtain these things was through schooling.

When I got used to school, then I stayed and looked at those houses and asked myself a question, “Will it happen that *Enkai* [Maasai god] will help me with this book of mine until I build a house like that?” So I started being keen on the house because it was this paper which made it possible for a house like that to be built. I wondered whether it would happen that I would get *eng'eno* [cleverness/intellect/craftiness] so I could get a farm for myself? So those are the things I saw being very helpful, but I just saw them through my *eng'eno*, because I was not instructed or advised by anyone. So I started being keen on the house and on the farm, wondering if *Enkai* would give me *eng'eno* so that I would have my own house and farm (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

Those who stayed in Mairoua with non-Maasai, or who interacted with non-Maasai throughout the course of their time in Mairoua, for example being fed in the houses of non-Maasai at lunchtime, heard or took part in conversations in KiSwahili through which they were exposed to the 'Swahili discourse' discussed in the previous chapter. Encountering these ideas about what schooled Maasai should be and do, and what development should be, has been as influential a part of the schooling process as have experiences whilst actually in school. Negative understandings of the Maasai way of life and culture, important elements of Swahili discourse, were also encountered. One man described the negative experience he had when staying with non-Maasai in Mairoua while he was going to school.

I didn't like the way they treated me. They didn't take me in like a member of the family, or at least their friends' family, because they would make me sleep in the kitchen, and it is an experience which I never really talk much about. Just put the sisal bags, the sacks, on the floor, and that's where I would sleep. And in eating, because I am not a Muslim, they would not let me sit at the same table, or the same mat, to eat with them. So I observed like there was a little bit of segregation and I was probably looked upon as backward in some way, and I didn't feel happy about it because I didn't feel like I was any different from them. ... things like because I am a Maasai and we are people who are nomads, we live in the bush, so they think that a Maasai is a backward man, they would openly refer to Maasai very negatively, and I didn't believe that they were right ... those non-Maasai who came to Maasailand felt like the Maasai are a little bit backward people. However, they didn't show too much disrespect as such, they just thought we were dirty and illiterate, but at the same time I think the Maasai are feared somehow, they think we are brave, they still have a good amount of respect or maybe fear for the Maasai [laughs], but there is no open disrespect that I recall, because that could then bring confrontation (Maasai man, Landiis, university educated. Spoken in English).

The following incidents observed during fieldwork illustrate further the manner in which elements of the Swahili discourse are currently communicated to Maasai school children in Mairoua by non-Maasai. Accounts of these social encounters in the past indicate that there is a great deal of continuity in these processes, and that Swahili discourse would have been communicated in similar ways then. The first event illustrates how Swahili ideas about Maasai poverty resulting from their prioritisation of livestock are expressed to pupils who are in the Swahili environments in and around Mairoua at or on their way to school. This incident occurred in a vehicle travelling from Mairoua to Longido. The vehicle stopped at the enkang of a relatively rich Maasai, who handed his small son Paulo to a non-Maasai man to hold. Paulo was on his way to Longido, where he attends a nursery run by a Christian NGO. This non-Maasai man, a pharmacist in Mairoua, began talking to the non-Maasai teacher sitting next to him. Paulo, a bright little boy who understands and speaks KiSwahili well, would have been

taking in all that was said. It was a cold day, and Paulo was dressed in just a thin pullover, a second-hand tracksuit top. The two men commented on what a disgrace it was that Paulo's father, such a rich man with many livestock, did not buy enough warm clothes for his children. The conversation then turned to how Maasai in general do not like to sell their animals, even if they have large herds, to cater for 'their families' needs'.

Another incident illustrates the way in which ideas commonly held by non-Maasai about what schooled Maasai should be and do are communicated. The discussion occurred in Mairoua, in the shop of a non-Maasai man. This shopkeeper was talking to several male Maasai primary school students. He commented on the locally born Maasai woman who is one of the few Maasai teachers teaching in the area. He praised this female teacher to these students because she and her husband, also a Maasai and a teacher elsewhere, have two plots in Mairoua and have already started building a 'modern' brick house on one. The shopkeeper then told the students that when they finished school, they would also come and bring *maendeleo*.

6.2.4 The continuing influence of Swahili people and Swahili discourse

Many of the Maasai who formed relationships with non-Maasai whilst at school subsequently maintained these links. Those Maasai who went to school not only formed relationships with non-Maasai whilst at school, they were also more able and confident in making such links afterwards. This greater ease in communicating through KiSwahili and relating with non-Maasai people, and negotiating non-Maasai environments, has been an important factor in shaping the livelihoods of many Maasai who went to school, as the following case illustrates.

Mirumo was given the responsibility by his father of, as it is termed locally, 'carrying money' for the family when he finished primary school in 1985. He was told to 'circulate' the money through trading, and to be in charge of cash transactions for the family, but decided on his own how to do this. He entered into commodity trade, buying and selling things like cooking oil and sugar. Mirumo and his family understand that spending time in Mairoua when at school and afterwards influenced him to start commodity trade. Whilst many Maasai trade small amounts of certain commodities without venturing outside Engare Naibor, relatively large-scale trading in commodities

bought elsewhere is largely the preserve of a few schooled individuals. It is understood that Mirumo started this particular trade because he was a man of town (oltung'ani loo mujji), so had seen commodity trade being done. Another consequence of the time Mirumo spent at school and in Mairoua was that he became used to relating with non-Maasai. One important outcome of his easy relations with non-Maasai was that he was able to cooperate with them in trade. He was invited to trade with an Arusha man, Sabore, with whom he had become acquainted whilst at school. They got to know each other in Mairoua, where Sabore was already running a shop. Sabore asked Mirumo to work with him in trade because he observed him to be clever. When they were trading together Mirumo would go to buy sugar in Meto in Kenya and they sold it in Sabore's building in Mairoua. They also began cooperating with a Meru man who would bring flour for them to sell from that building. They eventually began to sell other commodities from it.

Through the maintenance of relationships, the influence of non-Maasai employing Swahili discourse on these schooled Maasai has been sustained, and Swahili discourse has continued to influence ways of being 'schooled Maasai'. The case of Olepakasi illustrates the way in which this continued influence has operated to affect the livelihood choices schooled Maasai have made. Olepakasi is of the Landiis age-set. He spends a lot of time in Mairoua trading centre, as he is in charge of 'carrying money' for his family and does various types of trade which bring him there. He recently built a brick and corrugated iron house in Mairoua. He recalls seeing lots of people building in Mairoua and decided to do so himself. He relates his having built to his schooling, and his resulting ability to "stay with" non-Maasai people, communicate with them, and value their advice.

A person who has gone to school always seeks advice from clever people. So I think my schooling has helped me because I can stay with developed people. I can ask them for advice and follow that advice, but a person who has not gone to school cannot seek advice.

He not only spends time with people in Mairoua, he also goes to see non-Maasai friends who live in other places. These non-Maasai were classmates of his when he was at Engare Naibor Primary School, the children of teachers and early in-migrants. When they meet they talk about their lives and their progress, and advise each other on what to do.

When we meet we talk of the position that someone has acquired in life, because some of them are teachers and others are trading. They told me, "Don't be like those Maasai who only care about cows".

He decided to use his 'school intelligence' and to invest in building a modern house.

Some of those who went to school spend more time in and around Mairoua than their unschooled peers, and have social networks in this Swahili environment. This has in many instances aided access to information, for example concerning livestock drugs and agriculture from socialising with government livestock experts.

6.2.5 Maasai experiences at school

Maasai have also been exposed to Swahili discourse by their teachers whilst in school. Negative attitudes concerning Maasai people, and the Maasai way of life and culture have been promulgated in school since Engare Naibor Primary School began. One woman recalls the aims of schooling being explained to her in terms of Maasai ignorance, and disapproval of Maasai commitment to cattle.

The teachers said two things. They said, "The school is here because of eng'eno. That eng'eno was discovered by irmeek. But Maasai have nothing to do with books. The only thing Maasai are keen on is the cow". They also said, "Maasai children have hard heads, not like those of irmeek whom, if you give them books, they do some revision later, but Maasai children just go home to play, and others herd calves and kids. So the Maasai do not have any intelligence (*akili*), we [teachers] are just trying to help them" (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

She later continued on this theme,

They did not say many things, the only thing they said was when they were teaching in class and a Maasai child could not get what was being taught, the teacher would beat that child and say, "You Maasai have hard heads, you are not doing anything". So they did not come to class and express all these things, they did it while hitting you and saying, "You know nothing. The only thing you know is the cow". So they did not have many things to say about Maasai, they did not say they are stupid because they do this and this and this. They expressed that your tradition was backward when beating you (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

Another man remembered encountering similar ideas.

Sometimes I heard the teachers slandering the Maasai, because ethnic groups despise each other. Other ethnic groups see Maasai as stupid, and Maasai see irmeek as stupid. Sometimes we heard the irmeek saying

that the main problem Maasai have is stupidity, because they do not have education (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

The expression of similar attitudes is observable in schools in Engare Naibor today. Teachers frequently use the word ‘Maasai’ to imply stupidity. For example, a child who did not know an answer was told “Oh! You really are a Maasai”.

Teachers expressed ideas about Maasai poverty, as well as ignorance, being critical of what they view as Maasai reluctance to sell livestock assets to pay for material goods considered better and more ‘modern’. For example, former pupils remember teachers telling them that they should build ‘better houses’ (*nyumba bora*) and stop living in ‘mud huts’. Former pupils recall their teachers having stressed the importance of leaving behind traditional (*-a mila*) things in order to pursue what they considered to be modern (*-a kisasa*).

A Maasai man who had been a teacher in two of the schools in the area, and is currently working in a Teachers’ Resource Centre in Longido, told me what he had observed when teaching and living in the area.

Those who had an incomplete education, finishing at primary school, often learnt to despise their traditions. They learnt through going to school that the Maasai are “poor, ignorant and conservative”. This was not in the syllabus as such, but pupils saw the way their teachers lived, and heard them talking outside the classroom (Maasai man, Landiis, Form Four).

Many former pupils recall having been put off schooling by all these negative attitudes.

I felt it was very bad but I could not do anything because students must respect their teachers so my friends and I felt bitter, but there was no solution as we could not tell the teachers to stop (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Maasai adults who have been to school generally recall the teaching that they received in a poor light. They remember teachers spending a lot of time outside school engaged in other activities, or visiting their families elsewhere. Women remember being instructed by their teachers to do their household chores for them. Some of these adults blame the poor teaching they received for their failure to ‘get education’, or their lack of academic success.

The majority of Maasai who went to school in the 1970s and 1980s are no longer literate, and from their own reports it seems that many of them were never literate. Many of those who went to school in this period are now not at all confident with KiSwahili, and some of these people report never having been confident with KiSwahili, which would have prevented them understanding their teachers. The lack of literacy and language skills attained by pupils must be borne in mind when the livelihood outcomes of schooling are considered in Part Three.

6.2.6 Competing demands and alternatives to schooling

Box 6.1: Emurrano

Traditionally the period of emurrano, or 'warriorhood' as it is often translated into English, was associated with the establishment of emanyata, a camp of ilmurran to protect their neighbourhood. This tradition is no longer adhered to in Engare Naibor. Spencer has described the ideal of emurrano.

"[Those who become murran acquire the] 'privileges of murranhood'. These are the rights they flaunt to behave in certain ways and to wear certain adornments that older men have discarded and younger men are denied. ... It is as much the display of the privileges as the manyat that is popularly upheld as the ideal of murranhood. Boys covet this ideal and see it as being at the heart of Maasai identity. ... As murran, they develop loyalty, discipline, and higher qualities". The cultural ideal is of "being together as a group, sharing in everything - company, food, and even the girls who become their lovers ... They parade their unity and strenuously deny any individual existence apart from the group" (Spencer 1993: 150).

Currently, however, young men have less time to spend in the numerous activities which build solidarity within their age-set, and in some cases less desire to do so. Hodgson describes how "the liminal period after circumcision has been dramatically shortened as many boys must return to school", and "ilmurran have infrequent opportunities to congregate with each other as they pursue farming, education, waged work, and other opportunities to make money. They only selectively observe dietary prohibitions, and wear a variety of clothes according to context" (Hodgson 2001: 256).

In Engare Naibor emurrano activities now include dancing at ceremonies, occasionally communally hunting wild animals that have been attacking livestock in the area, and attending meat camps which involves staying in the bush for a period of time and slaughtering and eating livestock with other ilmurran. Ilmurran still often braid their hair to signify their status. One thing which has grown in significance since the decline of emanyatta is esoto. Esoto means 'a gathering' or 'a bringing together'. It refers specifically to night-time gatherings of pre-circumcision girls (intoyie) from the neighbourhood and ilmurran in which the participants gossip, sing, dance and, eventually, engage in sexual 'play' (inkiguran, s. enkiguran) (Pratt 2003: 214).

Children who were enrolled in school were often kept away by their parents who sent them herding or to do household tasks. I heard reports of parents having given teachers bribes to allow their children to stay out of school for periods of time. Many children also absented themselves from school, for instance preferring to hide and eat wild fruits. Adults who went to school describe themselves and their classmates as having been absentees (*watorro*), and explain that many of them did not take school seriously, because they ‘did not know the meaning of it’, and ‘did not know that it was something important’. Women recall prioritising *emurrano* activities over school. They remember not attending school in order to go to *oloip* [a meeting under a tree with *ilmurran* to sing in the afternoon], and prioritising going to *esoto* dances with *ilmurran* over being able to concentrate at school the next day.

Many children at this time left school completely before finishing Standard Seven, or became increasingly absent from and unconcerned with school. Boys were often circumcised whilst they were still at school, and the activities of other *ilmurran* proved too tempting for them to resist. When asked whether he had tried to pass his Standard Seven exams, one man replied that,

Not much, because my exams coincided with the work of *emurrano*. We became *ilmurran* in Standard Six. We became bad people, so we just stayed in the hills [for meat camps] and did not go to school much (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Another man who was also circumcised while he was a school-boy described how he felt about going to school once he was an *olmurrani*.

When I was circumcised, I refused school at first. I said “I cannot go to school to stay with boys (*ilayiok*) while I am the only one” (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Girls were frequently married whilst still at school, resulting in them being withdrawn from school, or having to negotiate the commitments of being both a pupil and a wife. One woman described this situation,

It was very bad because I was always under surveillance. The teachers gave commands, and my husband gave commands, so I was always under commands. It was hard work (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

6.2.7 ‘Being schooled’ after school

Truly, school has in no way changed my life. When I finished Standard Seven I did not consider education to be something important. I did not remember anything about going to school. When I finished school I came to herd and made no follow up to education (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

The assessment of many Maasai who went to school, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, that they did not get much from the schooling process, and did not ‘follow-up’ on their education, is attested to to some extent by the analysis of quantitative data on livelihoods which will be presented in Part Three. Many Maasai children who went to school in this period did not value schooling, and consequently did not want to act in ‘schooled’ ways, which Maasai at that time generally thought about in very negative terms. Moreover, there were alternative identities to that of the schooled person which many found attractive, specifically those of ilmurran and intoyie, and which there was a great deal of social pressure to conform to. In the case of girls who were married off, former pupils were given little choice as to whether they wanted to take up a schooled identity, and they had little opportunity to put into practice any ideas or skills which they had managed to gain from school. On the rare occasions where women had opportunities to use the skills they got from school, for example working as a nursery assistant or representing their communities in NGO meetings or training sessions in return for a *per diem*, their husbands often prevented them from doing so.

In this period, ‘being schooled’ was not valued by many outside the Swahili environment of the school and surrounding trading centre which Maasai children left after school, and there were no positively understood ways of ‘being schooled’ within the Maasai sphere in Engare Naibor.

They [teachers] told us not to forget to read, but the Maasai tradition (*mila*) did not allow us to follow that up. When we left school this area was not clever. Currently, everyone admires this way of education. Those who went to school, and those who did not, are all following education (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

6.3 Changing Maasai understandings of schooling

Whilst many Maasai are still ambivalent about schooling, positive understandings are increasingly prevalent. Many Maasai now claim to know the ‘meaning’ of education, and to value the cleverness [eng’eno] which they see that the schooling process imparts. Many of those who went to school, and those who were not sent, now regret not having gained this eng’eno. They have come to blame this in part on the quality of the

educational experience, and also on their parents and themselves not having known the ‘meaning’ of education at the time when they were, or were not, sent to school. I will now consider what this ‘meaning’ of education is for Maasai in Engare Naibor, and why the eng’eno which schooling is seen to impart is now increasingly valued.

This section draws on interviews with Maasai who have been to school about their schooling and its influence on their livelihood choices and decisions, as well as on interviews with Maasai parents about their understandings of the aims of schooling. It also draws on more informal conversations and participant observation.

6.3.1 Schooling to protect from, manage, and benefit from changes.

Through their engagement with processes of rapid socio-economic and political change, many Maasai have come to see schooling not only as a means to protect themselves from these transformations, but also to manage and profit from them. Many Maasai in Engare Naibor are still successful pastoralists, whereas others have been less successful, and their herds have dwindled. Given increasing awareness of opportunities for livelihood diversification outside the pastoralist sphere, the ability to diversify livelihoods is increasingly valued by those with large and dwindling herds alike. These opportunities include farming, employment, trade, investment in other enterprises, and the creation of links with individuals and organisations from outside the area. Maasai are increasingly acknowledging the importance of being able to use ‘other ways’ to diversify their livelihoods.

People have become clever. Now people have many things to do with their cows, not like in the past when they were just kept to grow in number. People are working with their cows now. Farming eats [uses] many cows, sending children to school eats many cows (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

In the past, and amongst some older Maasai today, the Maasai word ‘eng’eno’ was generally used to describe the skills necessary for the good management of family and herd. Nowadays, the word is often associated with ‘school cleverness’ (eng’eno e sukuul), and the ability to do things which schooling is thought to allow, and which many people consequently feel unable to do. The eng’eno to diversify economically, access services and networks, and to negotiate non-Maasai environments is now valued. In a conversation with a boy who had never been to school, I asked him whether he would have liked to have gone to school. He replied that he would have, “So there

would be nothing I could not do, because I would have eng'eno". Maasai in Engare Naibor often use the expression, 'The eye that has got out is clever', indicating the value now placed on experience outside the Maasai sphere.

Maasai in Engare Naibor increasingly see a need to diversify their economic investments, and see schooling as allowing this. Many, however, feel ill-equipped to diversify successfully. They have come to view this as being because of their lack of 'school cleverness'. One man who was relatively rich in terms of livestock wealth stated that, "We are poor because of a lack of education". He went on to talk about activities such as building a corrugated iron-roofed house in Mairoua trading centre, "When someone tells me to do things, I have the wealth but not the cleverness (eng'eno)". He would feel unable to travel to towns to purchase the materials he would need, or to negotiate or even communicate with non-Maasai contractors.

As outside institutions like hospitals and law courts become more and more a part of Maasai lives, Maasai are coming to value the ability of some schooled Maasai to negotiate these institutions. Those who have been to school and are confident in using KiSwahili are often called upon for assistance in communicating with non-Maasai and negotiating unfamiliar situations. Schooled Maasai are called upon to take sick people to hospital, to help in finding secondary school places, and in purchasing things outside the Maasai sphere such as hybrid seeds from Arusha, or even maize from Mairoua trading centre in some cases.

As traditional forms of leadership are being sidelined by authority structures from outside the Maasai arena, such as government or NGOs, Maasai are increasingly seeking to access these sources of power and influence. White four-by-four vehicles decorated with the names and logos of numerous NGOs and church organisations are an increasingly common sight in Engare Naibor. These 'companies' (inkampunini) are recognised as a source of resources, and it is understood that schooled people are the ones who are best able to capture and perhaps channel these resources into the area because they are able to communicate with non-Maasai, and in the case of secondary educated Maasai, with English speaking foreigners. As one woman described,

The places that the pen is entering are the places of leadership [within the local structures of these organisations] (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

Many Maasai also now view schooling as a way to combat the vulnerability they feel in a world which they are increasingly unable to negotiate. Education is thought to protect people from being 'cheated' in the unfamiliar situations in which they are finding themselves. In a conversation with an olmurrani who had been to school, he talked of the differences between himself and his unschooled peers.

Someone who owns a hundred cows and a hundred steers, if he were to build [a modern house in Mairoua or another trading centre], someone would fool him because he does not know the skills to use to buy because it is something that he does not know. If I owned thirty cows, I would build and leave behind that person with a hundred cows and a hundred steers because of my eng'eno (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

These ideas are shared by Maasai who have not been to school. Commonly expressed fears include not being able to understand conversations in threatening situations, being cheated because of lack of language, literacy and numeracy skills when doing livestock trade, and being sold expired livestock drugs or agricultural inputs in shops because of not being able to read the labels.

Maasai in Engare Naibor do not only fear being cheated by non-Maasai, they also feel vulnerable to exploitation by other educated Maasai. I asked the older brother one of my research assistants, who went to Standard Seven himself, whether my assistant's secondary schooling had made the two of them different. He replied,

Very much, because if he decides to take all these [their father's] cows, he can do so through other ways (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

He then proceeded to tell me a story, which was probably more metaphorical than factual but important in terms of the ideas it contains, to illustrate how this might happen.

There are two brothers in Gelai. The younger one went to school, the other did not. The younger one cheated the older one. He said, "Let's brand these cows so that nobody can steal them". But he branded them with just his name. There came a time when the brothers wanted to separate from each other. Then the younger brother told the older, "You have no cows here. Look for those with your mark". The older one argued that that one is mine, and that one is mine. Then the educated people were called to decide, and found that all the names written were the younger brother's. Suppose you [talking directly to my assistant] do that? (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

However, the thing which was most frequently talked about in conversations on the importance of education, and which has been of huge significance in changing ideas about education amongst Maasai in Engare Naibor, is the possibility of, and the benefits which result from formal employment, which have become apparent as a small number of local Maasai have got jobs, including salaried political posts. Education is now seen as a potential source of a great deal of wealth and power. As one man explained,

Nowadays we follow modern (-a *kisasa*) things. We did not know there would come a time when the only spear in the land was the pen (Maasai man, Ilmakaa, no schooling).

6.3.2 Shifting understandings of ‘getting out’ and ‘getting lost’

Schooling is increasingly seen as necessary to cope with and benefit from the changes being faced. However, Maasai have perceived for a long time that the schooling process can generate change which is often unwanted, such as the abandonment of pastoralist values. Ideas about ‘getting lost’ are still commonly heard in discussions about schooling. Those who have been to school and who act in Swahili ways are still called irmeek, both playfully and less playfully. Some parents bemoan their school-children’s enthusiasm for football, rather than for herding, and the behaviour of young people who spend a lot of time in Mairoua, and associate a lot with non-Maasai there, is commented on.

Having eng’eno, and having ‘got out’, are now understood by Maasai to allow people to do irmeek things. Maasai used to fear becoming irmeek. They are now generally ambivalent to this process, but recognise a need to be able to negotiate the non-Maasai sphere, and use schooling to this end. In a conversation with a Maasai boy who had not been to school about the differences between him and his brother who had been to primary school, the boy said that “We will be the same in Maasai things, it is only that he will be able to do irmeek things.”

Maasai in Engare Naibor are now less fearful of sending their children to school. This is not only because they have seen considerable benefits result for some from their schooling, and have come to value the ability to do irmeek things. They have also seen that Maasai children who go to school can resist the discourses that schooling promotes, and not necessarily reject pastoralist values. Some Maasai have demonstrated that it is

possible to formulate ways of being ‘schooled’ which other Maasai find acceptable, and this too has encouraged increasingly positive attitudes to schooling. It is now understood that schooled Maasai can negotiate Swahili and Maasai discourses, benefiting from ‘getting out’, but at the same time not ‘getting lost’.

6.3.3 Constructing ways of being ‘schooled Maasai’

When the first Maasai children finished at Engare Naibor Primary School, the majority of them did not wish to act in ‘schooled’ ways, which were understood negatively, largely in terms of becoming irmeek. However, as Maasai in Engare Naibor have come to value the eng’eno that schooling is thought to offer, and a number of Maasai who have been to school have formulated ways of being ‘schooled Maasai’ which have been approved of, more people have come to pursue a ‘schooled’ identity.

Whereas in the past the return of a child from school as unaltered as possible was welcomed, it is now widely felt by Maasai in Engare Naibor that there should be a difference between the schooled and unschooled, and that schooling should be used. As one Maasai informant explained, children “should not leave their fathers’ cows for nothing”. For many Maasai who have been to school, being different from those who have not been to school has become important for the way they think about themselves and make sense of their lives. As ideas about schooling have become more positive, and people have come to value education, they have also wanted to act in ways which they view as appropriate for schooled Maasai. In fact, some informants even made moral judgements about those who went to school but did not fully avail themselves of the opportunities it is now understood as offering. One man talked about people who had been to school but were not, according to him, sufficiently changed:

They see, ai, those are bad people, as they are the people who did not grasp eng’eno when they went to school. They just went to play and come back. For example, when a letter is brought, say to me, and I do not know how to read and write, and I go to that person who went to Standard Seven, and he cannot read but he went to Standard Seven and left his father’s animals, they see them as a stupid person [oltungani o moda], and say, oh, that stupid person. If that person cannot even read a letter, how about his management of his household. How can he do it? There are a few people who went to school and are now able to help themselves (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

The following case studies of three individuals who have been to school illustrate how and why Maasai ideas about appropriate ways of ‘being schooled’ have changed. One man who has been especially influential in changing these ideas is Steven Kiruswa. Steven’s large brick house, situated on the edge of his brothers’ enkang, with its corrugated iron roof shining in the sunlight, sticks out in the landscape of Ngosuak. So does Steven. He received a PhD from a university in the USA in 2004, and currently works for a large conservation NGO operating in the Longido area, whilst at the same time working hard to help his community.

People’s experiences of Steven being ‘schooled’ have been extremely important in the formulation of Maasai ideas about education in Engare Naibor. He was frequently referred to in discussions about schooling: when those of Steven’s age were evaluating their own schooling experience; when people were evaluating the schooling of others; and when parents talked about their aspirations for their children who were going to school.

Steven has, whilst being influenced by competing discourses concerning the correct way for a schooled person to behave, negotiated them and to some extent forged his own path. In understanding Steven’s agency in the process of ‘being schooled’, it is necessary to know that he is a gentle, kind, and very respectful person, who shies away from confrontation, and who has therefore worked hard to reconcile the contradictions between these competing discourses.

Steven was one of the first children to be sent to the newly created Engare Naibor Primary School in 1973. His parents were forced to send him, being threatened with fines to be paid in livestock. He recalls that,

Nobody was happy about it, including myself. I didn’t think I was being treated well to be sent to school.

He was nonetheless a good student. He became a Catholic whilst at Engare Naibor Primary School and on completing Standard Seven was taken to a Catholic secondary school by an American missionary who had been working in Engare Naibor. He finished secondary school in 1988, and became an olmurrani. Emurrano activities took all his time and many people, especially non-Maasai in Mairoua, recall thinking that he had given up his pursuit of formal education. Non-Maasai tried to encourage him to

continue with it. Steven explains that he had not given up on education, but “just wanted to get the best of both worlds”. He was then recruited by World Vision, a Christian NGO, and worked for them for some years before getting an opportunity to attend a university in Nairobi. An exchange programme took him to the USA, where he successfully applied for a doctoral programme, making links with a network of churches there.

Steven works hard to bring development to the area. He utilizes the contacts he made with American Christians, as well as his experience of the NGO world, to direct money and resources into Engare Naibor. Steven frequently brings parties of American Christians who are visiting Tanzania to Ngosuak. These parties have subsequently contributed large sums of money to projects in the area, such as building a nursery, and classrooms at Ngosuak Primary School. At one such event, where these visitors held a meeting at Ngosuak Primary School with many Ngosuak residents, a traditional Maasai leader made a speech. He addressed the Americans and the Maasai, saying that,

I can see that education is important. Is it not due to Steven being educated that he got to know these people from America who are coming to help?

People in Engare Naibor recognise that Steven has gained a lot of eng'eno from the schooling process, and going ‘across the water’. When he visits his home in Ngosuak he is beset by visitors who want him to help them, financially or in terms of negotiating unfamiliar situations, or often both, for example in helping people to get treatment for complicated and expensive medical procedures.

While Steven has taken up many aspects of dominant development discourses, he is not seen as having rejected all Maasai values. He acts in a way that demonstrates that he thinks schooled people should be committed to their families and communities, and the pastoralist way of life. For instance, when he returns to Ngosuak he without fail travels off-road by car to inspect his livestock where he is keeping them in the care of hired herders. He encourages younger Maasai who are in formal education to show respect for their families, and to value their culture and way of life, and not to shirk their traditional duties. He sends his own young son to Ngoiseiya to herd in the school holidays. Ngoiseiya is an area reserved for livestock. Only a small number of people stay there, and it is a relatively harsh and isolated place to live for someone who has got used to a

different way of life at school. Steven also takes part in some Maasai ceremonies and greatly enjoys attending meat camps when he has the opportunity. Most importantly, despite having many alternatives, such as working for international organisations, he has made choices which do not take him too far from Ngosuak, and makes great efforts to regularly be at home.

The common perception in Engare Naibor is that Steven has managed to reconcile being schooled with the maintenance of pastoralist values and a Maasai identity.

What does he [Steven] lack? Can't you see that he lacks nothing? If someone else does as he has done, someone who will not ignore anything, saying I leave this tradition as it is of no benefit to me, as Steven has held two things with both hands, if we get another boy who will do as he has, it will be something good (Maasai man, Ilmakaa, no schooling).

Steven has influenced the change from people thinking that Maasai who go to school will no longer 'love cows', or will 'get lost'. He has demonstrated that a schooled person can 'hold two things'. He has taken up elements of Swahili discourse, as well as having been influenced by Maasai values. However, he has deliberately constructed his ways of being a 'schooled Maasai' in order that he should be able to more effectively influence development in the area. Steven sees his role as a schooled Maasai as setting "a model". Talking about the future of pastoralism, he commented that,

So people still value numbers of livestock ... I have a few cows myself, and I thought I could set a model by harvesting them every year, by selling all the steers and raising new ones, but I still see many of my brothers not interested in harvesting their cows.

While Steven values aspects of the pastoralist way of life, his opinions reflect ideas prevalent in Tanzania concerning pastoralists' putative irrational love of cows. However, he understands that in order to be able to influence members of his community he cannot be seen to have rejected pastoralist values.

For one thing, pastoralism being the way of life, the traditional way of life for the Maasai, for me to continue to be accepted into the culture, into the life of the people, I have also to keep ahead [in livestock keeping]. And that way if they are enjoying the practice, then I can enjoy their joy, and if they are suffering, I can also share, because you cannot tell them much about what you are not part of, because they will judge me, because you are telling us about selling and you don't even have any to sell, or keeping and you don't have any cattle or goats or sheep to keep. So as much as I would do quite well without these livestock now because I am

educated and I work, but it is important to me as a cultural symbol and a way of showing that I am still part of them and I practice the same lifestyle. I know there are improvements, I am pro some improvements that are not coming easily, but I normally want to demonstrate that you should be able to keep them, harvest them and invest a small percentage of the livestock every year, and do some other useful things with the money, like building a house or buying a bicycle or a motorbike, or at least sending your children [to school] using the cattle. Otherwise they would have no lasting value, if you just keep numbers and when a bad drought comes it wipes them out and you become poor and you never did anything that lasts with the cattle and goats and sheep when you had them. I want to show the difference, so it's important to be a pastoralist, but not just a pastoralist for the sake of it. I want to see pastoralism used as a tool for improving the quality of life with what you can do with the livestock besides drinking the milk and eating the meat once in a while when they slaughter one.

Like Steven, many Maasai who have been to school have resisted the Swahili discourse promoted through the schooling process which presents all traditional things as antithetical to development. Maasai have made it clear to those who have been to school that rejecting pastoralist values or a Maasai identity will bring disapproval, something which Steven is aware of. One man who is proud of his primary education, and who has benefited from it in various ways, was highly critical of those who he felt were “despising things of the past”.

I mean people are doing wrong because they are despising the things of the past. What was being done is despised now” (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Steven and others like him are constructing their identities as schooled Maasai which are informed by the discourses they have encountered through schooling, but they are also choosing to incorporate aspects of Maasai values and tradition into their ways of being ‘schooled Maasai’. In this way, they are demonstrating that it is possible to embrace traditional things whilst also being schooled.

The next case-study, of a man called Tajiri, illustrates how one man’s experiences of being schooled, and his experience of Steven’s schooling, have led him to value a schooled identity. Tajiri went to Engare Naibor Primary School between 1973 and 1979. Tajiri told me that he was influenced by his peers to dislike school, and became an absentee from school for a while, but that he later stopped this behaviour because he “loved school”. He speaks very good KiSwahili, and is literate, so clearly did attend regularly and concentrated on his studies. On further enquiry it became apparent that he “loved school” because he was afraid of being beaten.

We did not know the meaning of education, but after you are caned you become cowardly. So we just woke very early in the morning and left for school. Later we saw that what we were being forced to do was very meaningful. What we were being shown was something good. We did not mean to work hard. Our parents also did not take school seriously. They did not have a need for school. They just sent us and we went because the government wanted us, but they did not encourage us to work hard.

After school, Tajiri was offered various NGO and government positions in Ngosuak. He claims that he did not put himself forward for the first position of responsibility he held in the community, but that he was asked to take charge of the then newly constructed cattle dip built by World Vision nearby. Having performed well at this task he was given an administrative post in the construction of two dams by the same NGO. He also became the village secretary and after the previous incumbent left his post “people asked” him to take over as village chairman, and he was voted in in elections. He was re-elected to that post in 2005. He thinks that people asked him to stand because he performed the duties demanded of him in his previous posts well, and headed his *enkang* well, so they judged that he would also be able to lead them. He recognises that he would not have been given the NGO posts which allowed him to demonstrate this competence if he had not been to school and attained proficiency in KiSwahili and literacy, and that under Tanzanian law (only recently enforced in Engare Naibor) he could not now hold the position of chairman without having been to school.

After school he also began to find that people came to him for advice because of things he was doing as a result of his schooling, specifically his experience of farming at school, and his literacy.

In this work of cultivation they are following us. As buying is concerned, they follow me. They say, “What seed has this man bought?” They say, “*Eero* [hey, boy], what does that packet do?” As you buy medicine they say, “What is written on that medicine?” They say, “For how many months will this one last? How will it kill the worms?”

Tajiri did not greatly value schooling when he left school. He came to value being seen to be ‘schooled’ after experiencing benefits from it, such as getting these posts, and also having people come to him for advice. In 1998 he requested a plot in Mairoua and built a modern house, which he now rents out. He built this house, as he explained, because as a schooled person he did not want other people to be ‘ahead of’ him in terms of *maendeleo*. He now values being seen to be ‘schooled’ and wants to maintain this perception of himself.

Someone with a little education does not want to be behind. You need to be somebody with a vision. You build. You should not be like those who say “What is written on this medicine?”

He expanded on what he thinks schooling can provide a person with,

There are two types of eng'eno in the care of one's enkang. There is that eng'eno you are born with, and that which you acquire in the class. If you do not have both, you cannot take care of your household in a good way, because there are so many matters you do not know. But if you have both, it will be very rare for there to be something you cannot do.

He feels, however, that his Standard Seven education is insufficient. He has seen what Steven has been able to do as a result of his education, and has seen the way people treat Steven. In the following extract, Tajiri does not acknowledge who he is talking about, but it was apparent to me that he was talking about Steven.

If you go to school and get education, you will be like a prophet [oloiboni], because there is nothing that you will not be able to see. Many people will come to you and say, “Hey, stand up and look at me. Show me something. Help me with something”. Somebody who has gone to school will be an expert in that he will be able get everything. If you saw that, you would also wish to know all that, but you were not able to know.

An incident at a ‘development meeting’ made apparent Tajiri’s feelings towards Steven. The meeting had been called by Steven to talk about plans for welcoming another group of American Christians whom he was arranging to come on a mission trip, one aim of which was to advance the completion of the Ngosuk Primary School buildings. The meeting was started by Tajiri in Steven’s absence, it being known that Steven was likely to be late as he might be tied up with a previous engagement in Arusha. He stood up and said a Maasai expression, “Do not be among those who wait, be waited for”. When Steven did eventually arrive by car, Tajiri thanked him for everything that he was doing for the community, saying that “an eye that has got out is clever”.

Until Steven and others amongst the first Maasai in the area had obtained formal employment, Maasai in Engare Naibor were largely unaware of this possible result of schooling, or the benefits that formal employment could have. Maasai hardly benefited from the expansion of formal education in the first decade of independence, which brought with it a great deal of social mobility. For them, school was not synonymous with social promotion. In the early 1990s Bonini investigated how Maasai in Tanzania thought about schooling success or failure. She concluded that it was more through

literacy in KiSwahili than in any other prospect that it offered to pupils that schooling success was judged (Bonini 1995: 589). However, because education is now linked in the minds of Maasai in Engare Naibor with social mobility, this has gone a long way to altering attitudes towards it.

Maasai women have had less opportunity to formulate ways of ‘being schooled’ because of the constraints they have faced as young wives and mothers.

We came to stay at home and there were no more things of education. Instead we were trying to work on family matters. Instead of thinking about education, we were thinking about food to give the children. We were doing housework like fetching water (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

Maasai society is both gerontocratic and patriarchal in its structure. While Maasai women have significant spheres of autonomy, and it has been argued that the emphasis on the patriarchy of pastoral societies is excessive and ignores much of the power and influence that women can wield (Hodgson 1999a, Hodgson 2000), the combination of the age set system with patrilineal descent is viewed by many authors as subjugating Maasai women to men throughout their lives (Spencer 1988, Llewelyn-Davies 1978, Talle 1987). Talle states that “women ... are regarded as social minors” (1987: 51). This status has limited the extent to which women have been able to utilise skills and knowledge gained through the schooling process. Many women think that their schooling has been of very limited use to them because their responsibilities and duties once they completed school, and constraints imposed on them by husbands and fathers, precluded them from engaging in activities which they think might have been facilitated by their having gone to school, such as trading and becoming involved with NGOs working in the area. Many women who went to school are reluctant even to speak KiSwahili because they have forgotten much of what they knew through lack of practice, having interacted little in the non-Maasai sphere since school. Unlike ilmurran, young women who have usually been married before or soon after completing their primary schooling have had little freedom or autonomy to pursue activities encouraged or facilitated by having been to school. For instance, some husbands have been reluctant to let their wives travel. Whilst young men have often taken on roles which led them to continue to mix with non-Maasai in Swahili social contexts, and have had the opportunity to maintain their language and literacy skills, many young women have had very limited exposure to KiSwahili and written materials after leaving school. As one woman put it,

If a Standard Seven leaver comes out of school and she is married in a place like Matala, where she cannot even get a small child to speak KiSwahili with, her education is totally lost (Maasai woman, Landiis, primary school).

The following case-study of a woman called Naaetemuta illustrates how the constraints women have faced since leaving school have prevented them from engaging in activities encouraged and facilitated by the schooling process. Naaetemuta went to Engare Naibor Primary School between 1981 and 1987. She thinks that having been to school has been helpful for her because she knows KiSwahili, and as she put it, “If I want to go somewhere I can go by myself”.

Whilst she does not think it has been helpful to her in other ways, because after school she was married and had children, one way in which Naaetemuta sees that schooling has produced changes for women is in the realm of leadership. Nowadays certain unpaid government posts must be filled by women, and women have found leadership positions within NGOs with projects targeted at women.

In the past Maasai women were just like children, the children of their husbands. But nowadays women are also put into writing so that everybody can be ahead, so that there is nobody who is lagging behind in terms of *maendeleo* ... this land has come to get *maendeleo* as in the past all leaders were men not women, but nowadays we have leaders who are women.

I asked why women want to be leaders, she replied that,

When we came to open our eyes and saw men bringing good things like the dam built in Ngoiseiya, we also wanted to have things that we could bring to this village. Say if we can get a company [enkampuni] which can help us to get our own grinding machine, we would like to see women being the advocates and occupying various posts.

Naaetemuta has recently joined a women’s group, and has been chosen by the existing members to lead it. These women’s groups were started by an NGO, and some groups in Mairoua have attracted further assistance from other organisations. Naaetemuta’s group wants to get such help, but were not aware that these organisations were coming to identify groups to support. They recognise the need to have a leader who is able to access information discussed in Mairoua, and to communicate effectively with NGO staff who do not speak Maa. Upon hearing of this decision to appoint her, Naaetemuta responded that she could not be the leader,

Not because I do not want to lead a group, but because I am alone in the family, so I do not have anyone to leave my burden to so I can lead the group.

While Tajiri was able to take up and benefit from leadership posts, like other women Naaetemuta has been less able to utilise or profit from her schooling.

6.4 “We need school, and we also need cows”: Schooling decisions.

An examination of decisions about sending children to school is informative of how Maasai in Engare Naibor have understood and are employing schooling. This section draws on data collected using the questionnaire on levels of schooling within ilmarei, as well as on information about schooling decisions obtained through family case-studies and through discussions following questionnaire interviews.

While understandings of schooling are changing amongst Maasai in Engare Naibor, rates of enrolment are still far below national averages (see 4.3.3). Many Maasai in Engare Naibor proudly claim that because they now value education, they do not wait for local government officials (*balozì*) to come and register their children for school, but send some children voluntarily. However, most of those making schooling decisions in Engare Naibor (largely men) only send some children, and government pressure influences, and in some cases determines many decisions about sending children to school. Only in 20.8% of ilmarei in Ngosuak that had school-age children (defined as children for whom the olmarei was their natal one, aged between 9 and 14 years old to take into account that many Maasai children start school late) were all such children going to school. The average proportions of school-aged children who had been sent to school did not differ significantly for ilmarei categorised in a wealth ranking exercise (see 3.5.2) as ‘poor’ and those categorised as ‘not poor’ (mean proportions were 0.44 and 0.60 respectively, $N=62$, $t=-1.624$, $p=0.110$), although the proportion of children sent from ‘poor’ ilmarei was lower. However, the reasons why those making schooling decisions do not send all their children did differ according to wealth.

Amongst both rich and poor ilmarei, the pragmatic evaluation of the benefits likely to accrue from sending a child to school are a common reason why parents are reluctant to send all of their children. As one parent pointed out,

[sending children to school] can be a waste of money. Meronyi still cannot read and write, despite going to Standard Seven, and that was the main aim of sending him (Maasai man, Ilmakaa, no education).

Decision-makers in poorer ilmarei often stated that they could not afford the direct costs of sending all of their children to school. The cost of sending a child to school for the first year of primary schooling, including stationery and a uniform, contributions for building work and for the cook who prepares the school food, was estimated to be about US\$40. This is put into perspective when it is considered that someone working as a hired herder typically earns about US\$15 per month.

In ilmarei with larger herds, many of those making decisions about sending children to school have come to value schooling enough to want to volunteer to ‘give out’ some of their children for schooling, but do not value it sufficiently to choose to send them all. Sending them all would be at the expense of satisfying labour requirements with their own children, the most reliable as well as cheapest source of labour, and jeopardising the family herd. The schooling decisions of many ilmarei become more comprehensible through consideration of herding arrangements, which are affected by, amongst other things, the developmental cycle of the domestic group, and the availability of satisfactory alternative sources of labour to one’s own children, although motivation to send children to school has also influenced ideas about acceptable herding arrangements (see Box 6.2).

Box 6.2: Herding labour and schooling decisions.

Nadutari is the only wife of Olemuna, and has four children. The older two, a son of 35 and a daughter of 26, completed Standard 7. The younger two, a son of 22 and a daughter of 12, did not go to school. Nadutari explained that the younger two were not sent to school because they were needed at home, for herding and household chores. When asked why the older two were not needed at home when they were younger, Nadutari explained that when they were at school, the animals were taken to an olmarei in another enkang to be herded. A fight between these two ilmarei resulted in the termination of this arrangement, and consequently, the younger two children were needed at home.

Saparu’s eldest child, a daughter of 17, did not go to school. His next two children, a daughter of 14 and a son of 10, are currently in Standards 3 and 1 respectively. His 6-year-old son has not yet started school. He explained that when his first daughter, Sembeu, was of the right age, the government representatives did not tell him to send her to school. As he “did not see the importance of schooling” at that time, he did not send her of his own accord. He elaborated that when Sembeu was younger, his olmarei was herding alone, and she was therefore needed to herd his calves. However, his

attitudes towards schooling changed when he saw that “the people in a better position in society” were the educated people. He decided to herd with another olmarei so that he could send his younger children to school.

Olesisi has 6 children, aged 14, 12, 10, 8, 6 and 1. Only the oldest child is at school. Olesisi’s mother explained that the oldest child was not needed for herding at the time that she went to school because Olesisi was still in his father’s olmarei with his brothers. The herd had not yet been separated, and Olesisi’s brothers could therefore provide herding labour.

Opinions expressed to me suggest that for some wealthy ilmarei selective education of a few children may be a sign of a prosperous and carefully managed pastoral economy, within which the role of the educated child has become part of a diversification strategy to benefit from new opportunities whilst maintaining investment in pastoralism. In ilmarei that do not have many livestock of their own to herd, the choice is often made to invest in the pastoralist sphere in another way. The labour of their children is re-distributed to wealthier households. These children receive livestock for themselves in return for their labour. Poorer households also give out daughters to wealthier men, receiving bridewealth. These strategies are conceptualised in terms of gaining social capital, not merely in terms of acquisition of livestock. The desire to invest in schooling whilst still maintaining investment in pastoralism was expressed succinctly by one man who told me that, “We need school and we also need cows”. I asked another man of the Landiis age-set how he and his brothers, who herd co-operatively, will handle decisions about which children to send to school and which to keep to herd. He replied that when he has children he will send one to school, one will herd the cows, and one the smallstock, because it would be “a big shame for me not to have a child going to school while the pen is the important thing of the day”.

Heffernan and colleagues’ (2001) analysis of data from northern Kenya found an association between the attitudes of pastoralists towards education and the perceived future of pastoralism. Amongst the groups she studied, education seemed to operate as a safety net against the adverse conditions of pastoralism. The more negative or uncertain the view of the future of pastoralism, the more likely that children were sent to school even at the expense of selling livestock or incurring labour shortages within the household. Pastoralism in Engare Naibor is still seen by many as sufficiently viable that in families with larger herds, and to an extent in those with smaller and dwindling herds,

those making schooling decisions generally invest in both schooling and pastoralism and the pastoralist sphere.

As is the case in many other contexts (see Al-Samarrai & Peasgood 1998, Johnson-Hanks 2003), parents in Engare Naibor who have been to school themselves do seem to be more likely to send their own children to school. The proportion of children in ilmarei headed by Landiis who had been to school themselves who were sent to school was higher than that of children in ilmarei with Landiis heads who had not (see Table 6.1). Whilst this relationship was not statistically significant, this may be because of the small number of children of this age of ilmarei headed by Landiis men recorded in the survey.

Table 6.1: Children's schooling according to the education of the ilmarei head

Percentage of children at school from <u>ilmarei</u> with schooled head	Percentage of children at school from <u>ilmarei</u> with unschooled head	Results of chi-Square test
13/22 (59.1%)	9/23 (39.1%)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=45, Xsq=1.793, df=1, p=0.181)

There is quite a disparity between the number of boys and girls recorded in the questionnaire as going to school in the Ngosuk Sample (60.2% of boys and 36.3% of girls aged 7 to 14). At Engare Naibor Primary School in 2003, 316 boys and 178 girls were enrolled (64.0% and 36.0% of pupils respectively). This gender disparity is in contrast to national level patterns. Tanzania has been more successful than many other developing countries in achieving gender equality in school enrolments, with girls making up 49.6 per cent of all enrolled primary students in 1997 (Liganga 2000). Such stark gender disparities in rates of education are common amongst pastoralist groups in the region (see Leggett 2005). Reasons commonly given by my Maasai informants to explain why fewer girls are sent to school than boys focussed on a few themes: that a girl moves away at marriage, and that any benefits that result from her having been to school would be reaped by her husband and his relatives, not her natal family; that a girl who has been to school may not marry in the traditional way, and her father consequently may not receive bridewealth; and that even if the girl is eventually married and bridewealth paid, her father will have to wait longer for it while she is at school. Poorer ilmarei can become heavily dependent on bridewealth for survival, and concern

about having to wait longer to receive bridewealth was more often voiced by poorer fathers.

6.5: Summary

In this chapter I have explored Maasai experiences, and changing understandings of schooling. Maasai reactions to schooling have been shaped by their lack of experience of it, the culturally antagonistic nature of the process, and the incompatibility of children attending the schools provided with aspects of the pastoralist way of life. These reactions, as well as the poor quality of teaching and lack of resources, have led to poor acquisition of skills at school, as one man attests to,

Something that you do reluctantly, you will not become an expert in it, because you do not do it as it should be done (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

These reactions have also meant that many Maasai have not wanted to be seen to be acting in schooled ways. However, more recently many Maasai have come to value schooling, and the reasons for this change have been examined. I have demonstrated how Maasai in Engare Naibor are now trying to reconcile the competing demands of school and home, and the competing discourses promoted through the schooling process and by parents and peers. While many Maasai who went to school are now trying to use the skills they gained, they continue to try to resist the negative ideas about pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life promoted through the schooling process. They are also trying to reconcile their desire to educate their children with their desire to invest in the pastoralist sphere.

Having examined the nature of the schooling process, in Part Three I will explore what its implications have been for pastoralism and pastoralists' livelihoods.

PART THREE: OUTCOMES OF THE SCHOOLING PROCESS

Chapter Seven: Schooling and pastoralism

7.1 Introduction

Many ideas have been put forward by those involved in education provision, as well as onlookers, about what effects educating pastoralist children might have on the practice of pastoralism. For example, education has been expected to ‘modernise’ pastoralism by policy makers (Krätli 2000), whilst anthropologists have been concerned that schooling may lead to a lack of acquisition of indigenous technical knowledge (Galaty 1989).

Ideas about the effects schooling has and should have on pastoralism are very apparent in Engare Naibor. The concept of ‘*ufugaji bora*’ was met in Chapter Four. It translates as ‘better pastoralism’, and refers to the manner of practicing pastoralism presented within school curricula, and in wider Tanzanian discourse, as being ‘modern’ and desirable. *Ufugaji bora* is conceptualised as being more intensive and less mobile than ‘traditional’ pastoralism (*ufugaji wa kienyeji*), with high rates of marketing of stock and investment in modern inputs. This way of thinking about pastoralism is critical of mobility. *Ufugaji bora* is contrasted with ‘traditional’ pastoralism in this discourse, one element of which is presented as the ‘irrational’ accumulation of livestock by traditional pastoralists, and their reluctance to sell livestock. The concept of *ufugaji bora* is very apparent in the way non-Maasai in Engare Naibor think about pastoralism and being a good pastoralist. Despite pastoralism currently being given little attention in the primary school curriculum, being discussed in only a few places in Social Studies and KiSwahili text books, and having been given little attention in the past, teachers in schools in Engare Naibor, and non-Maasai in Mairoua, often talk about *ufugaji bora*. They talk frequently about how they see education changing pastoralism in the area. One teacher expressed these commonly aired views, stating that education ought to

change their manner of pastoralism from traditional pastoralism (*ufugaji wa kienyeji*) to modern pastoralism (*ufugaji wa kisasa*) so that they can benefit from their pastoralism (teacher in Engare Naibor).

These ideas about appropriate ways for Maasai who have been to school to practice pastoralism are discussed in schools and in interactions between Maasai and non-Maasai in Mairoua and elsewhere. For example, one teacher described the ideas he tried to communicate,

We call 'parents day' and explain to them the importance of education for having livestock, that when a child goes to school, they will get education to keep those livestock better, rather than this free (*huria*) pastoralism, as you will find people who have so many livestock they have become destructive. We are told by experts that if you can keep a few animals, that is *maendeleo*, rather than keeping many cows which will die in vain. For example, this season someone might have owned 500 cows, and maybe 200 died, so it is a loss, and still that person is not sending a child to school (teacher in Engare Naibor).

In this chapter I will consider the ideas of Maasai in Engare Naibor about the effects of schooling on pastoralism, as well as other evidence for the impacts of schooling. I will examine the effects of having children in school, and of adults having been to school, on pastoralism.

This chapter draws on data from the questionnaire conducted in Ngosauak *kitongoji*, as well as information drawn from family case studies concerning the implications of having children in school. It also uses the results of a listing exercise in which men were asked to list the most successful pastoralists in the area, and the discussions which surrounded this task. Interviews with Maasai adults who have been to school about their school experience and how their schooling has influenced the way they practice pastoralism have also informed this chapter.

7.2 Effects of having children in school on the practice of pastoralism

Having children in school has affected the practice of pastoralism, most significantly through influencing mobility and labour availability.

7.2.1 Mobility

Sedentarisation is not a new phenomenon to many East African pastoralist groups. However, rates of sedentarisation amongst these groups have increased dramatically in recent times (Fratkin 1997) in response to drought-induced livestock loss, loss of pasture land, pressures of human population growth, increased involvement in market

economies and crop cultivation, the attraction of famine relief, health, education, and employment opportunities, the closing of international and internal administrative boundaries, and political turmoil including civil war (Fratkin & Roth 2005).

Maasai in Engare Naibor used to be highly mobile, with whole families migrating both temporarily and more permanently in search of better conditions for their livestock. In contrast, questionnaire data reveal that only 47.2% of ilmarei questioned had moved livestock away from the permanent enkang in 2004, and none had moved the whole family with them. This level of mobility is reportedly lower than in some other nearby Maasai areas, where current enrolment and attendance rates of children in school are also reportedly lower.

In Chapter Four I argued that education provision to pastoralists in the region has had the implicit, and sometimes explicit aim of encouraging sedentarisation. Whilst it is difficult to separate the effects of having children in school from other simultaneous pressures to reduce mobility, it is apparent from understandings gained from family case-studies (see 3.5.5) that having children in school has indeed been one factor which has encouraged sedentarisation amongst Maasai in Engare Naibor. The reasons one man gave for his family's lack of mobility are illustrative.

Reteti is of the Ilmakaa age-set. When he was younger, he recalls that his whole family used to move with the livestock in search of better pasture when the rains were poor in Ngosauk. The last time this happened was in 1982. Since then it has become more problematic to temporarily reside in another village with one's animals because residential patterns have become more fixed, partly as a result of villagisation. Moreover, Reteti's family have, like other families, taken up farming. They also have many children in school. In 1982, when the whole family last migrated, they only had two boys in Engare Naibor Primary School, and it was possible to leave them with family friends who lived near Mairoua. Reteti thinks that currently, with so many of his children attending school, it would not be possible to find people near Mairoua willing to take care of all of them. Reteti would like to be able to take advantage of the better grazing often found in Ngoiseiya, a reserved pasture area which is part of Ngosauk village. However, it is not permitted to farm in Ngoiseiya, and it is too far for children to walk to school from there on a daily basis. Larger ilmarei with more available labour are able to split their households, creating two residences in Ngosauk and Ngoiseiya.

Reteti does not have enough labour to do this, especially since many of his children are in school. It would be possible to move the household after harvesting in order to access the pasture which is often better at this time of year in Ngoiseiya, only leaving one person behind to guard the harvest in the store. However, having many children at school means that they, and a woman to take care of them, would also have to be left in Ngosuak, along with some animals for their use and someone to herd them, and Reteti does not have enough labour available to him to do this.

Reduced mobility is likely to have had a negative effect on herd productivity and survival. Resource utilisation mobility allows pastoralists and their livestock to respond to temporal and spatial variation in the distribution and quantity of rainfall and forage (Homewood and Rodgers 1991). Mobility also enables pastoralists to manage disease risks by avoiding known areas of infestation (Grootenhuis and Olubayo 1993, cited in Mattee & Shem 2006). Homewood and Rodgers have described the negative implications of range restrictions on livestock health (1991: 181-183). Evidence from Botswana and Mali shows that animals reared in mobile systems are up to three times more productive per hectare than those reared under similar climatic conditions in ranches or sedentary systems in either Australia or the USA (de Haan et al. 1999, cited in Mattee & Shem 2006). Reduced mobility is also likely to have implications for environmental sustainability (Kjaerby 1979). Schwartz (2005), for instance, notes that in Marsabit District in Kenya, areas of pastoralist concentration are marked by severe and spreading degradation of vegetation and soils.

However, whilst not ideal in terms of pastoral production, the settled lifestyle does offer some advantages, expressed most frequently by women. Women, who typically construct and repair houses, appreciate not having to frequently build new houses in different places. They also recall with distaste tales of women who were made to move in search of pasture whilst heavily pregnant. These positive opinions about settlement have been observed elsewhere in Tanzania amongst pastoralist women. Women interviewed by Brockington told him that they would prefer to live near a village because it had a school, church, and clinic and because it was easier to buy food there. Proximity to a village also facilitated the marketing of produce by women (Brockington 2001).

7.2.2 Labour

Having increasing numbers of children in school inevitably results in shortages of labour because families have traditionally been heavily reliant on children's labour for herding and other household duties. This has an impact on the ability of households to herd their animals as they would ideally wish to. There are a variety of ways these labour shortages can be overcome, some of which are generally preferred by decision-makers. The options that people in Engare Naibor are using are hiring herders, being lent children to herd, making cooperative herding arrangements with other ilmarei, or delegating more herding responsibilities to women. The main considerations informing such choices are cost, the quality of care the animals receive, the level of security of the arrangement, and the amount of control a herd owner is able to maintain over herding decisions.

Fifteen out of the 107 ilmarei enumerated in the questionnaire had hired herding labour in the previous year. Only one of these fifteen ilmarei had been classified in a wealth ranking exercise (see 3.5.2) as 'poor', compared to 68.4% of all the ilmarei classified. It is clear that hiring herders is only an option for wealthier ilmarei.

Inter-household fostering is a common feature of Maasai society (Coast 2001). In fact, most pastoralist societies are organised to allow substantial mobility of children between households (Shell-Duncan 1994, Pennington & Harpending 1993). Fostering is another way in which many ilmarei in Engare Naibor have resolved labour shortages. When a child is lent out⁷, the natal olmarei is not only relieved of the burden of feeding that child, but can expect assistance, for example, contributions to bride-wealth for a son, or being given an animal for a specific purpose in times of particular difficulty. Lending out a child is therefore a way to increase one's social capital. Both Hodgson (2001) and Kipury (1989) have observed, in Tanzania and Kenya respectively, that wealthier families could afford to hire or be lent children from poorer families to work for them when they experienced labour shortages as a result of their own children going

⁷ It should be noted that dichotomous categories of 'lent' and 'own' children are inadequate. Some children are given away at birth, and some are 'lent out' at various ages. Moreover, a father may feel responsible for the children of women who are not his wives, but who live in his olmarei, to varying degrees depending on a range of factors. However, to allow analysis, a 'lent' child is defined here as any pre-circumcision child of a woman who was not living in the same olmarei as her, and was not going to school.

to school. This pattern is also apparent in Ngosuak, where significantly more of the ilmarei who lent out children were classified as ‘poor’ than would be expected on the basis of population levels (see Table 7.1). It appears that borrowing the labour of children is also generally only an option for wealthier ilmarei.

Table 7.1: Wealth and lending out children

Percentage of <u>ilmarei</u> who lent out children that were ‘poor’	Percentage of <u>ilmarei</u> that were ‘poor’	Results of chi-Square test
87.5% (21/24)	68.4% (65/95)	SIGNIFICANT (N=95, Xsq=5.410, df=1, p=0.020)

Whilst 88 of the 107 ilmarei enumerated in the questionnaire were herding cooperatively with another olmarei, it is generally thought that when animals are herded by members of other ilmarei through some sort of cooperative arrangement, the quality of care these animals received is lower than it would be if someone more closely related to the olmarei in question was herding the animals. Moreover, cooperative herding arrangements often break down, frequently over arguments about relative contributions towards labour requirements. Decision-makers are concerned about the insecurity of cooperative arrangements, as well as losing control over herd management decisions if they rely on other ilmarei for herding labour.

Women are increasingly being compelled to take on herding tasks, as well as additional household chores, when their children are sent to school. This increases the burden of labour on women, but it also results in animals not being taken far enough from the homestead by women who have conflicting duties, and consequently not getting good pasture.

It is apparent that for wealthier households having children in school does not bring insurmountable labour problems, although decision-makers in Engare Naibor perceived that the best quality of care is given by an olmarei’s ‘own’ children, and that other arrangements are less secure and can be more expensive. These fears about the insecurity of alternative arrangements are illustrated by Olendidai’s situation.

Olendidai, who has one child at school, and whose other children are too young either to go to school or to herd, has two children who have been lent to him. His adult cattle and

calves are herded by these two children, and his smallstock are herded by a child of his brother's olmarei, which is in the same enkang. He thinks that herding labour is a problem that results from sending children to school. With the children he has been lent he feels "in constant suspense" as their parents might take them back at any time. He also feels that the herding arrangement with his brother is unpredictable, and that his brother might terminate it at any time. He fears that at any time he could be faced with a labour shortage.

For poorer ilmarei that cannot afford to hire herders or borrow children, and who often lend some of their own children out to friends and relatives, having their own children in school can result in a serious reduction in the quality of care their animals receive. It has been argued that families with adequate labour can manage herds and make residential decisions that maximize grazing and watering efficiency and minimize disease risk (Spencer 1984). For example, Sobania (1992, cited in Galaty & Bonte 1991) has demonstrated that herd growth is constrained by limits on the availability of labour. By reducing labour availability, schooling has placed constraints on more optimal herd management. As one man described, the labour constraints resulting from lots of children going to school sometimes result in sub-optimal herd management, in this case the mixing of calves and smallstock.

There are often problems. When children are sent to school brothers are unable to agree on herding, and each depends on himself. The wives and men themselves herd, and calves and smallstock are mixed (Maasai man, Ilmakaa, no schooling).

7.3 The impact of having been to school on the practice of pastoralism

I will now consider evidence concerning what the effects of schooling have been on the way those who have been to school practice pastoralism. It is not profitable to consider the effects of schooling on the way people of the Irkiponi and Ilmakaa age-sets practice pastoralism because only a very few individuals from the Ilmakaa age-set have been to school, and the majority of Irkiponi are still members of older men's ilmarei and therefore have little control over decisions concerning the herd. I will therefore only consider the impact of having been to school on the way men of the Landiis age-set practice pastoralism. Almost none of the women with whom I talked felt that their having been to school had had an impact on the way their ilmarei practice pastoralism,

as they argued that they had very little influence over decisions concerning the herd. I conducted 19 interviews with women about the impact of schooling on their livelihoods, and only one woman mentioned anything concerning livestock keeping. This woman thought that because she had gone to school and learnt to read she is able to inject livestock herself with drugs, reading the drug packets and the syringe, when her husband is away. For this reason I will only consider ideas about the effects of schooling on the way men practice pastoralism.

7.3.1 Schooling and involvement in pastoralism

In his review of literature on education for pastoralists Krätli argued that a crucial assumption made by those who believe that education will increase pastoral productivity is that those who are ‘educated’ in order to ‘modernise’ pastoralism will choose to continue to rear livestock (Krätli 2000). Krätli used research conducted by Holland (1996) among Maasai in Kenya to suggest that this assumption is not necessarily valid. In his research Holland found a strong association between a lack of education and employment in the ‘pastoral’ occupational sector, both as self-employed traders and paid herders. Those with an education tended to opt for non-pastoral occupations. However, it is unclear from Holland’s study to what extent educated individuals who were employed in non-pastoral occupations retained control over the herds which it is likely they owned. In Engare Naibor, at least amongst the Landiis, it seems that those who have been to school do continue to be involved in pastoral production. All of the Landiis men enumerated in the questionnaire have livestock, and all of them are involved in the management of these herds. Even those few individuals from Engare Naibor who are employed elsewhere make great efforts to return to contribute to the management of their herds, whether they are in the care of hired workers or kin. Whilst some of those who have been to school are not engaged in the practice of livestock keeping on a day to day basis, or spend much of their time during the day doing other things, they still retain some degree of managerial control. It is at this level, rather than actually herding, that education has presumably been envisaged by policy makers as making a difference.

7.3.2 Maasai ideas about the effects of adults’ schooling on the practice of pastoralism

In order to assess Maasai ideas about whether their or their peers' schooling has had a positive or negative impact on the practice of pastoralism, it is necessary to consider their ideas about what constitutes 'good' pastoralism. Ideas about what constitutes 'better' or more 'successful' pastoralism are inevitably highly subjective. As has been illustrated in earlier chapters, these ideas involve value judgements and assumptions about what the aims of pastoral production are, and what development in pastoralist areas should involve. For instance, while governments might judge improvements in a pastoral system on the basis of contributions to Gross National Products, pastoralists might incorporate a consideration of risk-minimisation into their assessments. Moreover, Maasai ideas about how pastoralism should be practised continue to change.

7.3.2.1 Landiis ideas about pastoralism

The ideas about what makes a good pastoralist held by men of the Landiis age-set have altered with the various changes which have influenced their lives, including the discourses encountered through the schooling process and the opportunities schooling has offered. The use of the verb eramatare, which used to denote all aspects of livestock care, now has a broader meaning. Eramatare now refers to the management of one's livelihood strategies, and although discussions about eramatare assume that livelihoods are oriented towards the acquisition and maintenance of herds, these strategies for eramatare now include farming, business, employment and investment in other things. Eramatare is,

holding your cows firmly, and if you do not have them, you should collect until you get them (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

7.3.2.2 Landiis ideas about the effects of their and their peers' schooling on the practice of pastoralism

The ideas of Landiis men in Engare Naibor about what effects their peers' schooling has had on the way they practice pastoralism are largely positive.

The ability of some of those who have been to school to maintain and increase their herds through income diversification resulting from schooling was frequently mentioned. In discussions with men of the Landiis age-set about good eramatare, it was

often acknowledged that it might involve increasing one's herd 'through the pen', by obtaining other sources of income, for example through getting paid employment, a government post, or through business or building. Farming was often mentioned as a way to do eramatare well, through working hard in one's farm to be able to buy livestock, and so as not to have to sell animals to buy food and other things the family needs. Links between schooling and the uptake of, and skilfulness in farming were often made.

Whilst those who have been to school still value and want to keep livestock, how livestock are valued has changed amongst this age-set. There has been a re-conceptualisation of the way livestock should be used. In the past the only real insurance a herder could take against the possibility of catastrophic drought or livestock disease was to participate in complex exchange networks that spread his risk by allowing him to disperse his herd among widely scattered stock partners and to maintain access to pastures and water (Spear 1993b). Nowadays, investment in social relations based on stock networks is being replaced by private cash investment in, amongst other things, education and building (Rigby 1992). Whilst livestock remain an absolutely central part of household economies, as well as hugely important culturally, cross-investment is thought to be desirable, and this is often conceptualised as protecting the ability to practice pastoralism. This cross-investment is commonly thought to be facilitated by schooling.

Through education he [someone who goes to school] will know the things to do with his cows. For example, he will know better how to open a bank account than those who did not go to school. You may find a person has built a house, and if there are tenants you will find that person not selling cows for his family's needs because of that money. You will also find him having bought other cows because of the rent (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

This re-conceptualisation of ideas about pastoralism can be seen to reflect both a desire to support pastoralism, and to some extent the discourses encountered through the schooling process. A common idea expressed by Maasai who have been through the schooling process is that educated people are, or at least ought to be, less reluctant to sell their animals. One man who had been to school told me that,

[The Maasai] love their animals too much to the extent that they do not want to reduce their number, so they only sell them in times of problems. I sell because of problems at home, but I could also sell for other uses, like

if I wanted to build a house. Because I have been to school I have to catch up with the modern life of others, so I have to sell as my fellows are doing, I have to copy those ahead of me. I want to develop myself (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

The following quotations from Maasai informants who have been to school illustrate the extent to which the idea of pastoralists' irrational desire to accumulate livestock rather than invest livestock wealth in other things, discussed in Chapters Four and Five, has been effectively transmitted through the schooling process. These opinions were much less commonly expressed by individuals who had not been to school.

[Those who have not been to school] are in the dark. If you tell them to make use of their cows they will not do anything (Maasai man, Landiis, secondary school).

A person who is educated can just look at his wealth and may decide to sell his animals and build houses in other places like Longido, Namanga, or Mairoua, because building is more durable, and it is only a person who is educated who can see those things. But there are other pastoralists who would like just to have many cows which will die in vain, but they do not have visions to build a house, or to educate a child (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

In contrast to the view of these schooled individuals, through talking to those who have not been to school it became clear that many of them wish to diversify their livelihoods, but do not feel equipped with the skills to do so. Whilst many of these people who have not gone to school do not share the opinion that they are 'in the dark', or 'lack visions' about diversification, they do share the assumption that schooling allows successful diversification as part of a successful strategy for good eramatare. Their perceptions of these consequences of schooling are similar to those of men who have been to school, but their explanations are somewhat different.

Whilst amongst older generations there is a common perception that schooling can make people 'love cows less', this is not a widely held opinion amongst Landiis, the majority of whom do not consider this to be the case amongst their peers.

There is no one who I can point at who has got lost because of school (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

However, it is recognised that those successful at school may be less involved in livestock keeping on a day to day basis. This is thought to be as it should be, as schooling is understood to facilitate alternative livelihood strands. Typical of ideas

expressed to me, one man thought that for some people schooling might make them place less emphasis on livestock because they “have other things to think about”, but “many of them are likely to realise that if they do not have cows, it is a great shame” (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school). In support of the common assertion by Landiis that schooling does not make people ‘love cows less’, Steven Kiruswa’s example was often cited.

If a person loved cows when he was young, and was sent to school, he will continue to love cows, like [Steven Kiruswa]. That person really went to school, but still he is a good pastoralist (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

Opinions on the effects of schooling on the acquisition of skills for livestock care are similarly positive. Men of the Landiis age-set do not generally think that schooling results in a serious lack of acquisition of livestock husbandry skills. Parents are largely unconcerned about a loss of skills and knowledge for pastoralism, as school-children get experience on weekends and in holidays, as well as before starting and after completing primary school. The ability of a herder to identify animals in a herd is the only commonly discussed way in which boys who are at school are thought to be less skilled. In fact, a small study by Galaty amongst Maasai in Kenya has demonstrated that some skills concerning the recognition and description of livestock had not been acquired by school-boys to the same extent as their non-schooled peers (Galaty 1989). Herders need to become thoroughly acquainted with the herd they are in charge of so they will notice, for example, missing animals. However, my informants reported that this ability can be acquired by someone who has not been herding regularly once they start to do so again.

Whilst some people thought that useful knowledge about livestock rearing has been obtainable through the schooling process, many of those Landiis who did go to school reported having learnt little or nothing about livestock rearing whilst actually in school. A small number recalled having been impressed by pictures in their Agriculture books of large ‘improved’ bulls, and a few remembered learning of the existence of livestock specialists who could be consulted in the future. Information which has been more easily available to those who went to school has largely been encountered outside schools, for example while socialising with livestock officers in Mairoua, or attending seminars. Although people reported having learnt little of relevance to their livestock rearing in the classroom, through the schooling process ideas about appropriate ways of

rearing livestock have been encountered, which include the importance of consulting with livestock officers, and using modern drugs and inputs.

It was commonly thought that some of those who had been to school were able to access information about new livestock drugs, and to obtain these drugs and 'improved' breeds with greater ease as a result of their schooling. Maasai in Engare Naibor who have been to school talked about the schooling process having made them 'not fear the costs' of various inputs such as 'improved' breeds, vaccinations, and livestock drugs, and having made them more open to new ideas coming from outside the Maasai sphere concerning animal husbandry. For example, one man who had been to primary school told me that,

Those who have not been to school fear the costs of livestock rearing. They are afraid of buying a lot of dip. They are afraid of buying a spray hose and salt licks. They view all these things as cows using a lot of money. ... They see the past way of rearing livestock as a good way but we shall abandon each other. My calves do not die of ticks or liver flukes. They do not get very thin (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

When questioned further it became apparent that this man attributed these changes in his ideas to seminars which he had attended, rather than school itself, although he thought he had been chosen for these seminars on the basis of being educated. Other men expressed similar things, emphasising how those who have been to school are more willing to invest in new inputs.

School helps a person in livestock keeping because if there is a cattle vaccination, it is easier for a schooled person to get the idea and act accordingly. But those who have not gone to school, many of them ignore it saying, 'It is just an irmeek thing, they just want to get our money'. But those who have been to school can accept it very quickly (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

They also talk about schooling facilitating the acquisition of 'improved breeds'.

I think school has helped them because none of them would get lost when they decide to buy improved breeds from Kenya. It is easy for them to acquire passports, and it is easy for them to get to the place where they can get their animals (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Those who have not been to school tend not to share ideas about the uneducated not wanting to invest livestock wealth in inputs, or not being open to new ideas. Nonetheless, they do talk about the difficulties and disadvantages they experience in

accessing these things, and information about them, as a result of not having been to school.

[Schooling] has helped them [his schooled peers] because if they want medicines for their animals, it is easy for them to get them. But those of us who did not go to school must ask. They get things easily because they can find out for themselves, but we must ask. In injecting the livestock, with the injection of the calves with things on their ears [East Coast Fever (ECF) vaccination ear-tags], schooled people were first, and we came to imitate them (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

The ideas of those who have been to school about appropriate ways to practice pastoralism have been influenced by ideas encountered through the schooling process to some extent. Many of my informants who had been to school were keen to illustrate to me the ways in which their livestock keeping conformed, at least to some degree, to ideas and notions about *ufugaji bora*. Whilst being a pastoralist and having herds is still important to schooled Maasai men in Engare Naibor, many are keen to distance themselves from the image of the ‘backward’ or ‘ignorant’ pastoralist they have encountered at school and in Swahili environments, and to present themselves and be seen to be acting in ways understood to be appropriate for those who have been to school and who are practicing pastoralism in a modern way. Observed differences in behaviour concerning pastoralism between Landiis who have and have not been to school are likely to result in part from men wishing to act in ways they view as appropriate for them as ‘schooled’ people, as well as from the different skills and abilities of, and opportunities available to some of those who have been to school.

However, Maasai in Engare Naibor have been critical in their acceptance of the ideas about pastoralism promoted through schooling. Whilst ideas about the irrational accumulation of livestock have been taken up to some extent, Landiis men in the area who have been to school largely wish to use their schooling to support pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life. Their desire to continue with traditional things, and to maintain a commitment to extensive pastoralism, is in contrast to the discourses promoted in and around schools.

7.3.3 Listing exercise

A listing exercise carried out amongst Landiis (see 3.5.3) suggests that those who have been to school are somewhat more likely to be judged by their peers to be amongst

those who ‘try and succeed’ the most ‘in the work of cows’ (*iltunganak onyok netumoki te esiai oonkishu*) (see Table 7.2). This phrase was used when explaining the task to make it clear that it was effort and success in livestock keeping, rather than in more broadly defined *eramatare*, in which I was interested. This specific question was formulated in consultation with informants. Explanations given by respondents for the inclusion of certain individuals generally revolved around their herds having been increased through various efforts, including using income gained from other sources to support livestock keeping, migrating with animals in times of drought, paying careful attention to the requirements of the animals, and prudence in the selling of animals. 55.0% (133/242) of those Landiis listed had been to school, compared to the level of schooling of 46.1% amongst Landiis men enumerated in the questionnaire (see Table 7.2).

Table 7.2: Schooling and success in pastoralism amongst Landiis as judged by peers

Percentage of men listed as ‘best’ pastoralists who have been to school	Percentage of men in the area who have been to school
55.0% (133/242)	46.1% (24/52)

Whilst these results suggest that individuals who have been to school are only slightly more likely to be judged by their peers to be particularly successful pastoralists, a conspicuous few have been seen to have used their schooling to support the maintenance and growth of their herds, largely through accessing other sources of income. Of those mentioned in the listing exercise most often (by at least six of the fourteen men with whom these listing exercises were completed), ten out of thirteen (76.9%) had been to school. Amongst these ten were people who had been relatively successful at school, at least in terms of attaining fluency in KiSwahili and acquiring literacy skills, and had consequently got paid and unpaid government positions, other paid employment, as well as schooled individuals who were particularly successful commodity traders and farmers. In other words, amongst those judged to be the most successful pastoralists, many were those whose livelihood options and choices had been most transformed by the schooling process. One schooled man whom I asked about the effects of schooling on people’s success in pastoralism after he had completed a listing exercise was very positive about these effects. When I pointed out to him that the list he had previously given of his peers who were most successful was dominated by people who had not gone to school, he was surprised. He reconciled this to himself and to me by arguing that different people had benefited to very different extents from schooling,

and that “many of those who have gone to school cannot even write their names”. Whilst for many Landiis men going to school has not made them more successful pastoralists, some have been able to use the skills they acquired through the schooling process, and the opportunities their schooling experience has given them and encouraged them to follow, to maintain and increase their herds.

7.3.4 Schooling and investment in modern inputs

Many people in Engare Naibor speak positively about the benefits of cross-breeding ‘improved’ animals into a herd, such as faster growth and higher milk yields, although they are also aware that these animals are less hardy. Many people also talk about a cattle vaccination against ECF, which has recently been made available in the area. Data from the questionnaire indicate that those ilmarei headed by Landiis who have been to school⁸ have invested in ‘improved’ animals, as well as the newly available ECF vaccination, more frequently than those ilmarei headed by Landiis who have not been to school, although these trends are not statistically significant (see Table 7.3). I am not, however, aware of any research concerning whether or not the use of these ‘improved’ breeds actually has a positive effect on livestock production. A study by Homewood and colleagues does indicate that the ECF vaccination significantly reduces calf mortality (Homewood et al. 2006b).

Various mechanisms may have led to these trends. Those who have been to school may have easier access to information about improved animals and the ECF vaccination through social relationships, written material, and radio. They may be more able to negotiate urban areas in order to buy them. They may wish to conform to ideas formulated through the schooling process about how schooled individuals should act, which include the use of modern inputs. They may also, because of greater access to cash, possibly due to successful diversification, be more able to pay for these inputs.

Whilst this analysis offers only limited evidence to corroborate Maasai ideas that those who have been to school are more able to find out about and access new livestock

⁸ When ‘those who have been to school’ are referred to, this includes all people who have spent some time in school, regardless of whether they completed the full seven years of primary education or not. The secondary educated ilmarei heads in the sample were excluded from all the following quantitative data analysis, because their schooling experience, and the opportunities it has opened up, has been so different from that of the other individuals under consideration.

drugs, evidence from the family case-studies (see 3.5.5) suggest that within families schooled individuals have often played a role in initiating the use of the ECF vaccination, and in acquiring other new livestock drugs.

Table 7.3: Schooling of ilmarei head and investment in inputs for pastoralism

	<u>Ilmarei</u> with unschooled head	<u>Ilmarei</u> with schooled head	Significance (Chi-Square test)
Owned improved bull	4/23 (17.4%)	7/19 (36.8%)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=42, Xsq=2.036, df=1, p=0.141)
Owned improved ram	4/23 (17.4%)	8/19 (42.1%)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=42, Xsq=3.114, df=1, p=0.078)
Owned improved billy-goat	9/23 (39.1%)	11/19 (57.9%)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=42, Xsq=1.469, df=1, p=0.184)
Any cows vaccinated	12/23 (52.2%)	15/19 (78.9%)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=42, Xsq=3.249, df=1, p=0.069)

7.3.5 Schooling and herd size

One possible way of assessing success in pastoralism, and one which largely corresponds to the way most Maasai in Engare Naibor think about it, is to look at herd size, although this is at odds with ideas about *ufugaji bora* and the way success in pastoralism is conceived of in the discourses schooling promotes. The mean herd size (measured in Tropical Livestock Units, TLUs) of ilmarei headed by Landiis who have been to school is higher than the mean of ilmarei headed by Landiis who have not (see Table 7.4). However, this difference is not statistically significant, possibly due to the small sample size.

Table 7.4: Schooling of ilmarei head and TLU

Mean TLU of <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who went to school	Mean TLU of <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
20.9 TLU	12.4 TLU	NOT SIGNIFICANT. (N=38, U=118.500, p=0.072)

A study by Trench and colleagues (2007) provides useful data for comparison with the situation recorded in the Ngosuak survey. This study involved quantitative household

data collection from single round surveys in five Maasai locations in Longido District, which is adjacent to Monduli District, as well as in Engare Naibor. These data, to which I have been given access, provide a larger sample drawn from Engare Naibor and nearby areas in Longido District on which to perform the same analysis. When herd sizes of ilmarei headed by men of an equivalent age to Landiis⁹ who had and had not been to school were compared, those of schooled men were found to be significantly higher (see Table 7.5).

Table 7.5: Schooling of olmarei head and TLU for Landiis headed ilmarei in Longido sample

Mean TLU of <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who went to school	Mean TLU of <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
31.2 TLU	23.3 TLU	SIGNIFICANT. (N=76, U=448.500, p=0.027)

These results suggest that ilmarei in the Longido sample headed by Landiis men who have had some primary schooling have larger herd sizes than ilmarei headed by their peers who have not been to school. Given that in the 1970s and early 1980s when Landiis children started school whether a child went to school or not was usually not a parental decision, it is unlikely that those individuals who went to school would have been wealthier as a group before going to school. The observed difference in herd size is therefore likely to be a consequence of the schooling process.

7.3.6 Schooling and productivity

One way in which improvements in pastoralism have often been conceptualised by policy makers is in terms of livestock productivity rather than livestock numbers. In order to be able to make an assessment of whether schooling facilitates ‘better’ pastoralism in these terms, it would be necessary to collect detailed data on livestock fertility and mortality rates, or even rates of weight gain by livestock or values of products sold. The theoretical underpinnings and methodological constraints of this study did not allow for such a detailed quantitative approach.

⁹ Age-sets were not recorded in this data-set, so ages have been converted to be equivalent to age-sets (16-30, Irkiponi, 31-44 Landiis).

7.4 Summary

The schooling process has influenced a reduction in herd mobility, as well as a reduction in the availability of children's labour. These changes are likely to have had a negative effect on pastoral production, especially for poorer households, and are viewed by Maasai in this negative light.

In Engare Naibor, Maasai ideas about pastoralism have been influenced by the schooling process, both the discourses encountered through it and the opportunities schooling has offered. However, these discourses which are critical of many aspects of extensive pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life have been resisted by Maasai who have been to school, as is evident from the commonly stated opinion that schooling does not result in people 'loving cows less'.

Different ideas about what might constitute good pastoralism make assessing whether those who have been to school are 'better' pastoralists problematic. However, Maasai ideas about the effects of adults' schooling on the practice of pastoralism are largely positive. Some Landiis men who have been to school are understood to have used their schooling to diversify their livelihoods and in this way to maintain and increase their herds by avoiding selling the animals they own, and by buying other animals with the profits from other activities. A commonly held opinion amongst Maasai in Engare Naibor is that schooling helps people to maintain their involvement in pastoralism by providing alternative livelihood strands to protect and build up their herds. This opinion is borne out to some degree by the higher average TLUs recorded amongst ilmarei headed by schooled individuals. Opinions on the effects of schooling on the acquisition of skills for livestock care were also positive. Whilst those who had been to school did not recall learning much of relevance to livestock keeping at school, through the schooling process some have acquired skills which facilitate access to information about, and make obtaining modern inputs easier. Moreover, my Maasai informants did not think that going to school, and therefore being removed from herding duties on school days, resulted in a serious loss of skills for and knowledge about livestock care.

In Chapters Eight and Nine I will explore two of the ways highlighted by Maasai in Engare Naibor in which schooling has influenced pastoralist livelihoods, namely the

uptake and expansion of farming and increasing diversification into off-land income generating activities.

Chapter Eight: Schooling and cultivation

8.1 Introduction

Shifts between pastoralism and agro-pastoralism have occurred in the past, and continue to take place throughout semi-arid Africa. Previous shifts were related to diminished herd size with drought, disease and conflict (Dupire 1972; Brainard 1991, both cited in Mace 1993, Anderson 1988, Kjaerby 1979). When conditions improved and those who had started cultivating had accumulated sufficient livestock, they were often able to re-enter mobile pastoralist production (Waller 1985, Anderson 1988). The increasing rates of adoption of cultivation by pastoralists over recent decades can also be related to government policies and donor-funded projects which have facilitated and encouraged both sedentarisation and cultivation (Anderson 1999), as well as to population growth and increasing rates of poverty. As pastoralists have increasingly engaged with the market, changing terms of trade between livestock products and grain have in some instances promoted the adoption of cultivation (Kjaerby 1979), as have increases in household cash needs (Little 1985, McCabe 2003).

In the past, the incorporation of cultivation into livelihood strategies by people who did not have the requisite knowledge and skills was achieved through various means. Some pastoralists married wives from farming societies to grow crops, such as Maasai men marrying Kikuyu women in Kenya (Campbell 1979, cited in Mace 1993, Waller 1993), or Arusha women in Tanzania (Ndagala 1996). In other situations pastoralists have learnt from farmers from other ethnic groups. For instance, Maasai men and women living near Monduli town interviewed by Hodgson described learning to farm through watching or being taught by Arusha people (Hodgson 2001: 177).

Maasai in Engare Naibor have gone from being mobile, transhumant pastoralists to being more sedentary agro-pastoralists, and this transformation has occurred largely in the last thirty years. Whilst some of the above factors have been influential, and these other strategies for gaining skills have been employed, schooling has been a major factor encouraging and facilitating this change. In this chapter I will consider how schooling has contributed to the uptake, expansion, and practice of cultivation by Maasai in Engare Naibor.

This chapter draws on interviews with Maasai who have been to school about their experiences of farming through the schooling process and how this has affected their subsequent farming. It also draws on family case studies which provide understandings of the history of the uptake and expansion of farming in families. Questionnaire data concerning access to, and use of land for farming, and harvests and use of inputs are analysed. The results of a listing exercise provide another source of data on the relative success in farming of those who have and have not been to school. Participant observation, casual conversations, and interviews with other key-informants have also informed this chapter.

8.2 The adoption of cultivation

Many of my informants claimed that Maasai in the area did not farm until the recent past, but these statements must be treated with some caution. Many of them hold cultivation in low esteem, and their rhetoric about it may reflect normative values rather than actual practices. However, Maasai reports are to a large extent consistent with non-Maasai recollections, and it is likely that before the 1970s Maasai engagement with agriculture in the area was highly sporadic and small-scale by today's standards. Cultivation, or settlement amongst cultivators, had been temporary strategies of Maasai in the region for survival in times of drought or livestock disease. For instance, during the disastrous series of droughts and diseases that ravaged pastoral societies in East Africa in the 1880s and 1890s, many Kisongo Maasai took refuge with Arusha age-mates, agnates and affines (Spear 1993a). Pastoral Maasai therefore regarded involvement in agriculture as a sign of poverty, as one man described.

The farm was hated then. It was difficult for people to work in the field because the work was very hard and a person could not work in the field as others would laugh at him saying you are an *oltorrobani*¹⁰ (poor person without cattle) who cannot get cows. So the farm did not have meaning at that time (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

The pastoral ethic of the Maasai viewed the raising of livestock as the pinnacle of livelihood strategies and derided non-pastoral peoples (Spear 1993b). Maasai in Engare Naibor claim that in the past they strongly objected to cultivation. Those who farmed were reportedly the objects of derision.

¹⁰ *Il torrobo* (pl.) are Okiek hunter-gatherers.

We had some who shunned the practice of digging the land or farming whilst they were ilmurran with braided hair. They even called them names, saying "You are going to dirty your nicely braided hair with dust" (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Moreover, older Maasai in the area recall objecting to, and often still object to, the use of land for cultivation. They do not want the land they graze their livestock on to be used for another purpose.

The number of people cultivating and the scale of their farms have been increasing since the 1970s. Currently cultivation is very widespread in Ngosuak and elsewhere in Engare Naibor. In Ngosuak, only one out of 104 ilmarei for which questionnaire data are available did not have access to any farmland, and only two out of 106 did not plant any land in 2004.

Maasai in Engare Naibor gave various reasons for their recent adoption and expansion of cultivation. Many talked about increasing poverty. Some also mentioned decreased mobility. Some described their concern that land was being taken for farms at an increasing rate, and their fear that it was running out, which mobilized them to request land themselves. In the past people simply fenced land for farms when they wanted to cultivate it, but nowadays applications for land must be made to a land committee. Awareness that land is becoming scarce is leading some men to apply to the land committee for land in the names of their young sons or younger brothers¹¹. For many people the increased need for cash for food, clothes, taxes, veterinary drugs, hospital bills and school costs is a threat to their livestock holdings, and cutting back on expenditures for food through cultivating is seen as a way to preserve the livestock they have. That the wealthy as well as the poor are cultivating supports this contention. The notion that wealthy herd owners are starting to farm to preserve their current livestock holdings is also supported by O'Malley's research in Loliondo, another Maasai area in northern Tanzania. In a set of interviews conducted in the late 1990s, she found that those in the highest wealth category tended to give the answer, "I cultivate to avoid selling my cattle" as the primary reason for beginning to grow crops. These Maasai families in Loliondo were "conceptualising the purpose of cultivation as permitting the

¹¹ In other areas, where land tenure changes are perceived to threaten pastoral access to land (for a discussion of these changes and how they affect pastoralists see Mattee & Shem 2006), using land to cultivate is seen as a way to secure rights to it (personal communication, Maurus Msuha, PhD student, UCL, November 2006).

maintenance or increase of the herd" (O'Malley 2000: 240). Many Maasai in Engare Naibor also observed that schooling has encouraged and facilitated the adoption and expansion of cultivation.

8.3 The nature of cultivation in Engare Naibor

Maasai in Engare Naibor almost exclusively plant maize and beans. Ox-ploughs are often used, and in some years richer farmers have hired tractors to plough their land when they have been available in the area. Labour bottlenecks for cultivation are by and large overcome through the use of cooperative work parties, or embesi. A group of people works on someone's field, usually for a day or half a day, in exchange for which they receive a meal. The arrangement is reciprocal and those who work in an embesi can also expect the person holding the embesi to work on their field when they in turn hold one.

Women commonly have little control over the management of farms, and they are often highly dependent on men for access to land and capital. Only women whose husbands are dead or commonly judged to be 'incapable' have been able to successfully request land for themselves from the land committee, and to do so requires support from a male relative or government representative. Whilst in some ilmarei men allocate fields to their wives, even in these cases men retain a lot of control over the management of cultivation. In order to hold an embesi, for example, it is necessary to buy food, tea and sugar for those who come to work. This represents a significant cash expenditure, and the majority of women who have some degree of control over fields do not have access to this amount of cash, or the rights to sell animals to get it. Women are similarly not in a position to purchase inputs such as fertilisers or hybrid seeds.

8.4 The encouragement of agriculture

Several groups have encouraged Maasai in Engare Naibor to farm. Those implementing government policies have influenced the uptake of agriculture. Exposure to Swahili discourse by non-Maasai whilst in Mairoua, and farming at school and listening to teachers talk about farming, have also been important in encouraging and facilitating Maasai who went to school to farm.

8.4.1 By the government

Agriculture, in practice generally understood to mean crop cultivation, was to play an integral role in the socialist development of Tanzania (see 4.3.2). Efforts made to encourage cultivation in the villagisation period can arguably be viewed as an attempt by the Tanzanian state to enshrine cultivation as part of the national ideal and identity. In pastoralist areas the aim of promoting cultivation was also inextricably linked with the aim of promoting sedentarisation.

In the 1970s the Tanzanian government made great efforts to encourage cultivation in Engare Naibor. In the mid 1970s Edward Sokoine, the now deceased Prime Minister of Tanzania (who had a Maasai father), visited the area which at that time was experiencing a drought and high levels of livestock deaths. Sokoine reportedly saw that the area was good farmland and encouraged local Maasai to farm so that they would not be reliant on livestock alone. With the launch of the villagisation programme, or Operation Imparnati, land demarcation was carried out by officials sent from the district capital in Monduli, which designated land to be used for cultivation and allocated it to individuals. A village farm was set up where villagers were to be taught about farming by one of the few Ilmakaa men in the area who had been to school, although few Maasai actually went for this training. A government tractor was bought which could be used by villagers who paid a fee, as well as other farming equipment and inputs. A large store was built in Mairoua trading centre for villagers to store their harvests. A farm was also created for Engare Naibor Primary School in accordance with Education for Self-Reliance policies.

8.4.2 By non-Maasai in-migrants

Non-Maasai in Mairoua encouraged Maasai to cultivate. This stemmed not only from their understandings of the prevalent national ideology, but also from the fact that they predominantly came from agricultural backgrounds. They valued farming highly and saw it as irrational, or 'lazy', that pastoralists should not farm given that suitable land was available. They were keen that local Maasai should take up farming, and bring the *maendeleo* which they believed would result. The conflicts between pastoralism and agriculture in terms of land-use, labour, and livestock mobility were either not recognised by non-Maasai, or the conflicts were not accorded significance.

The efforts non-Maasai made to encourage Maasai to cultivate were also influenced by the desire of early non-Maasai in-migrants to farm and the necessity of Maasai valuing farming if this were to be achievable, because these in-migrants initially encountered strong objections from the local Maasai to their farming and were consequently afraid to farm. Maasai threatened and reportedly used violence to try and prevent non-Maasai cultivating. One non-Maasai man who arrived in the early 1970s reported that,

They stood in the meeting and said, 'Let's hold one Swahili and slash his stomach and turn it inside out, and they will never farm again (Non-Maasai man).

Non-Maasai in-migrants have had a significant impact on the value contestations which have gone on throughout the schooling process, not least concerning the value of farming. Non-Maasai are pleased that, as they see it, schooling has encouraged the uptake of cultivation and less hostility to those who wish to farm. Talking about Maasai who have been to school, one non-Maasai man said that,

Something that made me happy is that some of them are busying themselves with farming (Non-Maasai man).

8.4.3 At school

As discussed in Chapter Four, a common aim of those providing education for pastoralists in East Africa has been to transform them into farmers (Krätli 2000). This has been true in the Tanzanian case. When at school, Maasai children have been taught the skills for farming and have been exposed to attitudes and values which might dispose them to farm.

Self-reliance activities, specifically school farms, were intended to make schools “become communities which practise the precept of self-reliance” (Nyerere 1967: 17) through providing the food eaten by the school pupils and staff, and making some contribution to the total national income. It was also thought that pupils would learn skills and knowledge for farming. Nyerere wrote that,

This concept of schools contributing to their own upkeep does not simply mean using our children as labourers who follow traditional methods. On the contrary, on a school farm pupils can learn by doing. The important place of the hoe and other simple tools can be demonstrated; the advantages of improved seeds, of

simple ox-ploughs, and of proper methods of animal husbandry can become obvious; and the pupils can learn by practice how to use these things to the best advantage. The farm work and products should be integrated into the school life; thus the properties of fertilizers can be explained in the science classes, and their use and limitations experienced by the pupils as they see them in use. The possibilities of proper grazing practices, and of terracing and soil conservation methods can all be taught theoretically, at the same time as they are put into practice (Nyerere 1967: 18).

On school farms pupils were to learn 'proper methods' for farming. Whilst Nyerere did, as the above passage attests to, envisage self-reliance incorporating animal husbandry, in practice livestock production was not integrated into these school self-reliance activities in schools in pastoralist areas. This was the case throughout Monduli District. One researcher noted in 1982 that in spite of the fact that the schools in the district carried out self-reliance activities, none had livestock except chickens (Ndagala 1982).

Engare Naibor Primary School was allocated a portion of land and started farming it in 1977. Pupils harvested the crops and the proceeds were used to open the school's first bank account.

The absence of livestock rearing in self-reliance activities, and the ways teachers talked about self-reliance, made it clear to pupils that self-reliance and all the ideology that surrounded that concept had very little to do with livestock keeping. To be self-reliant, and by extension to be a good Tanzanian citizen, meant cultivating. From the recollections of former pupils and teachers it is clear that this association was expressed to students. The association of farming with self-reliance, and in fact with *maendeleo*, is one that many students formed whilst at school. A former teacher at Engare Naibor Primary School said that,

First, the major aim of the government was to provide education for self-reliance. That means the student was prepared in such a way that when he finished his primary education, he could live the life that was suitable for him. For example, in the school farms the main thing being taught was how to plant, the spacing and number of seeds, weeding, and if the crop was affected by a certain disease, he should know the right pesticide with the help of the agricultural specialist. So the aim was to build them in the foundation that when they finished their primary education and stayed in a suitable place, they ought to look for food for themselves. And in that

way he would sell [his crops], and he would develop himself (Non-Maasai former teacher at Engare Naibor Primary School).

The school farm was abandoned after only two years. Various reasons, including the greed of the residents of the area who took that land for their own farms, were suggested to explain this abandonment. When the school farm ceased to exist the students nonetheless continued to farm at school. Even today students continue to do farm work within school time, working on the private farms of their teachers which are located within the school grounds. The pupils work under the supervision of their teachers, but do not profit from the harvests from these fields. In Tanzania as a whole there is considerable confusion as to the current official policy on school-farms. In schools in Engare Naibor this confusion has been exploited by teachers so that they can continue to use the labour of their students. There used to be time allocated in the timetable for self-reliance activities (*kipindi cha kilimo* or *kazi za mikono*). Now there is no time allocated and the time children spend working on the farms is actually timetabled for classroom lessons. Teachers nonetheless still justify using children's labour on these farms at school by referring to the aim of teaching children the skills for cultivation so that they will be able to farm themselves and expand and improve cultivation in their families. They talk about children learning to do 'modern' farming, or farming with 'expertise', rather than the 'inferior' farming which they think is being done by local Maasai. One teacher who arrived at Engare Naibor Primary School in about 1985 described the aims of these farms from that time to the present.

The aim was they should get used to it [cultivation]. Because at that time in the village they were not used to farming, the way it is now. So when we were making them plant using measurements, we wanted them to go and practice it at their homes. In the past we had some parents coming to tell us that 'we are putting five seeds in one hole', but here we have already educated the children about the right number of seeds to be put in a hole and how to do it, and how to dig the holes, and the parents were not using a rope [to plant in rows], but we are using one here (Teacher at Engare Naibor Primary School).

In this way, teachers at Engare Naibor Primary School have co-opted the national discourse of self-reliance towards their own ends. They have maintained the promotion of farming through schooling by using pupils' labour on their own farms, whilst echoing self-reliance ideology and rhetoric in an attempt to legitimise this behaviour in their own eyes and in the eyes of others.

8.5 Pupils' recollections of cultivation at school, and experiences of farming through the schooling process

Few former pupils recall having learnt much about cultivation in the classroom, but only when working on the school farm or teachers' farms. Agriculture, or *kilimo*, was a subject on the primary school curriculum until relatively recently in Tanzania, but few adults recall having gained much knowledge from these lessons. This is understandable when the nature of many former pupils' schooling experiences is considered. Information was obtainable in the books used in agriculture lessons, and from the teachers' teaching in these lessons, but only for those who were listening, could understand what the teacher was saying in KiSwahili, and could read what was written. Given that many pupils could not read their books, that many would have found it hard to understand what the teacher was saying in class, and that many would have been absent or just disengaged from what was happening in the classroom, it is unsurprising that the majority of pupils recall little or nothing of the content of their classroom agriculture lessons. These reports are consistent with recollections of learning about pastoralism in school (see 7.3.2.2). As one man explained,

There were books about farming, so you were taught and you could see everything in the books. But at that time education was not something to be taken seriously, so it just happened that *Enkai* [Maasai God] might open the way for one person and they would see some things like those (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Former pupils' recollections of how they thought about the farm work they were doing at school, either on the school farm or on teachers' farms, are important to explore in order to understand their subsequent behaviour regarding cultivation. When asked to remember the reasons for their doing farm work at school, only a small number of these former pupils mentioned proceeds from the sale of the crops being used to buy school equipment. This is a reflection of the fact that the school farm was only functioning for a short period, and the experience of pupils after this time was solely of working on teachers' farms, the profits from which went to the teachers. Many more pupils recalled the justification for them doing farm work at school as to teach them the skills for cultivation in order that they should become farmers themselves, as well as encouraging and teaching their families about cultivation.

We were working so that each person could get eng'eno to help him in his life. So in that time we were farming in order to gain eng'eno to take to our inkangitie (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Several Landiis informants recalled how they came to view farming as an appropriate activity for those who have been to school. They recalled teachers in Engare Naibor Primary School advising them that if they were unable to continue with formal education after primary school, then they should farm. As one man recalled,

I was taught by the teacher that those who did not succeed in going to secondary school should farm because, as the teacher said, "the hoe will not abandon a farmer". So the teacher insisted that we should grasp the hoe firmly as it would help us to come to the stage of those who were educated (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Former pupils also commonly understood the farm work they did at school as functioning to provide free labour for the teachers, producing crops for the use of the teachers. They understood that they were just working for their teachers on the 'teachers' farms' (ilshambai loo lmalimui, *mashamba ya walimu*), as they referred to them. Most former pupils did not like the work. They described how they felt they were being 'tortured' because they did not think they were profiting from their labour. They thought they were being treated like 'slaves'.

Most of these pupils had had little or no experience of cultivation at home. For many, working on farms at school was their first experience of doing farm work and of seeing for themselves the results of that work. When maize was harvested at school, either on the school farm or on teachers' farms, pupils were sometimes given one or two cobs to take home to roast. Some former pupils also recall stealing cobs. Whilst Maasai in the area used to trade or buy maize flour from other places in order to supplement their pastoral diets, and nowadays buy maize flour from Mairoua trading centre, for many Landiis who were school children in the 1970s and 1980s this was the first time they had had direct experience of the cultivation process. Many of these people recall tasting this roasted maize and finding it to be 'sweet'. Having seen the fruits of their labour, many former pupils came to think that farm work had 'meaning', in that cultivation produces food which tastes good.

So when we were taught we came to see that this is a thing of meaning, and when we saw that it was a thing of meaning, we continued to take fields for ourselves (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

These children wanted to profit themselves from their labour, rather than working for their teachers.

We were made to queue and given one sweet maize cob each. I thought, "Why am I only getting one cob when I planted the maize? I should plant my own" (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Teachers closely supervised the children's work, punishing those who did not follow instructions.

We were made to stand in line, and each person was given two steps [a small area], then the teacher kept on inspecting in order to identify the skivers and cane them. Right from ploughing, to planting, to weeding, the teacher was showing us. So I just knew it [farm work] because when I was doing it in school, if a person messed up, he would be caned on the buttocks. So we were really working hard because nobody wanted to be caned (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

However the former pupils thought about the farm work they were made to do, they did gain considerable experience of cultivation. Many felt that after their experience at school they had the skills necessary to farm themselves. Specific things or skills learnt when working on farms at school were often mentioned, such as the correct number of seeds to put in a hole and how to measure the correct spacing between holes using a rope. However, these commonly mentioned examples of things learned seem rather obvious, and could be learnt very easily. That people give such examples gives the impression that people did not actually gain many specific skills for farming, but rather they got used to farming and learnt to value it. Knowing the correct number of seeds could be viewed as a metaphor for valuing cultivation.

Other aspects of the schooling process were important in encouraging those who went to school to farm at home. Actually going to school every day in Mairoua was important in that children saw cultivation being done by non-Maasai in-migrants and early Maasai farmers. Former school children saw things in Mairoua trading centre, including cultivation, which they wanted to copy. One man told me what he learnt from the experience of going to Mairoua trading centre every day.

I learnt many things, because you can go somewhere to observe the things going on there and get ideas if things are good. An eye that has got out is clever. So going to Mairoua opened my mind. I got ideas. When I go to a place, I come back with ideas. I saw people bringing cows from other places like Gelai, and I got the

idea to go to Gelai to buy cows. I got the idea that I must get my field and cultivate. I should do casual work and trade (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Non-Maasai whom school children encountered in the trading centre also proffered advice about the importance of farming, especially to those children who stayed with relatives or friends of their families in Mairoua whilst going to school. As was described in 6.1.3, many of these relationships which were built whilst children were going to school have continued, as has the advice. A commonly stated opinion of non-Maasai in Mairoua, including those who currently and in the past have taken in Maasai children while they go to school, is that these Maasai children who go to school should 'do something else, not just rearing livestock'. The common non-Maasai opinion that not farming is lazy is also expressed. These elements of Swahili discourse will have inevitably been at least registered by many Maasai children who came into contact with non-Maasai through the schooling process.

The very small numbers of Maasai children who proceeded to secondary school in the 1970s and 80s would have gained even more experience of farming, both directly and through observation of the non-pastoral groups who commonly live in the areas where secondary schools are located. They would have been exposed further to the discourse prevalent in wider Tanzanian society at that time that placed a great deal of emphasis on cultivation.

8.6 The effects of having children in school on the adoption of cultivation

With villagisation households were forced to relocate their inkangitie. The necessity of having a permanent homestead greatly reduced the ability of households to move their livestock. Having an increasing number of children attending static school, whether parents enrolled them by choice or through compulsion, also reduced livestock mobility because these children, as well as women to look after them, had to stay in inkangitie near the school. In this way, livestock mobility has been limited, except for those households which have been able to command sufficient labour to shift livestock whilst also maintaining a functioning household in the permanent settlement. Once mobility was impeded in this way, some of the costs associated with taking up cultivation had already been incurred, thus reducing the costs to these households of starting to

cultivate. Another way in which having children in school has encouraged the adoption and expansion of cultivation has been by increasing cash needs in order to pay for school costs.

8.7 The influence of those who went to school on agriculture at home

It is unlikely that many families in Engare Naibor had no experience at all of farming before the 1970s. A few families were in fact farming at the time that their children were first sent to school. This was possible either because individuals had observed farming being done by others in the area or elsewhere, or quite frequently because there was a non-Maasai wife present who farmed. The influence of school children was not what initiated or re-initiated cultivation in these families. However, as the following case-study of Lekuusha's family demonstrates, children from such families who did go to school often felt that the farming that was going on at home was on a much smaller scale and was being done insufficiently skilfully compared to what they saw when going to school. These individuals think they gained skills and experience of farming at school and believe that this encouraged and enabled them to promote the expansion of farming in their families.

8.7.1 Farming in Lekuusha's family

Mirumo, Lekuusha's son, is recognised as being the driving force in the family behind the expansion of cultivation. He went to school between 1978 and 1985. Lekuusha did have a very small area under cultivation, about twenty feet wide, when his children were young, but he was not keen on farming. He had this field to satisfy the demands of his non-Maasai mother who liked to have maize to eat. He said,

I was one of the people who were asleep when people were occupying the fields. I slept because I loved cows, so did not finish all the space for the cows.

Mirumo's first experience of farm work was therefore at home, not at school. Unlike the other brothers who were allocated herding duties, he was able to continue working on his father's 'garden' whilst at school. However, he recalled his family not really knowing about farming,

We were just working and could even put ten seeds in a hole, because we did not really know.

When asked what he thought of the farm work they were made to do in school, he replied that,

We did not know it deeply. We were pure pastoralists, so we were complaining that 'these irmeek are just torturing us'. So we did not really know that what we were doing was meaningful. We thought that those irmeek were just wasting our time and energy. But we came to know later that this thing has got meaning.

However, he gained experience of farming and came to value it whilst at school,

We got used to it such that when we were given a portion to work on we worked on it. The only problem that existed was that we were always asking ourselves, 'Why are these farms not ours?' And it was in that period when I came to make my own field.

Mirumo was forced to farm at school, but having gained experience he decided to concentrate on it at home. After completing primary school he and another brother of a similar age (who had also been to school) cleared and fenced their own larger fields. When other younger children had grown up enough to take over the herding duties of other older brothers who had not gone to school, these brothers started farming as well, learning from those who had gained experience at school.

One older brother who did not go to school explained why he and his other brothers started farming.

Mirumo started farming when he was a child. I did not work on the field before because I was sent with the animals, so I was in cows. So Mirumo worked until we found him knowing that this thing called farming is good. Then we said, because this thing is good, let's divide the field. We continued until we enlarged the field. So that is how it happened that we knew farming is good.

8.7.2 Farming amongst Masanja's brothers

A similar example is that of Masanja and his brothers. Masanja is an olmurrani who lives with his three adult brothers. They cooperate in farming and livestock care. When they were children, their father died and they were mistreated by a male relative who was supposed to be taking care of them. Their uncle consequently brought them to live with him. They now live near that uncle but are independent from him. Two of the

brothers, including Masanja, went to school. This was their first experience of farming. The other brothers did very little farming at home, and their time was largely spent herding. Masanja described how he and his brother who also went to school were the ones to expand the very small amount of land they had available to them to farm, which had been given to them by their uncle from his own farm. Masanja said that he and his brother had increased the size of this field whilst still at school because,

We saw that it was the only thing that could help us a lot.

The other two brothers do not contribute anything to the farm work, but they are in charge of livestock care. Masanja explained that the two brothers who had not been to school were “unable to work in the field but could do livestock care”. He explained that this was because,

They grew up doing the work of livestock care. They are not keen on farm work. They do not want to do it at all. They know how, but they do not want to do it. But my brother and I saw them do livestock care, so we decided to do this. We have agreed as we have seen they are not keen on farm work, but are keen on other work. We are able to do the farm work. If we need some cows to be sold to do work on the field, they are not reluctant for the cows to be sold. We have just seen that they are reluctant to do the work in the field. They have seen that working in the farm for a long time is very hard work, so they just do it for a short time then go to herd.

When asked if he and his schooled brother mind this hard work, he said,

It is something that has never been in their heads [the brothers who did not go to school]. The thing in their heads is livestock care. They see farming is good, but do not want to do it. We see it is hard, but just do it.

8.7.3 Farming in Oletirina’s family

The case of Oletirina’s family illustrates the importance of relationships made with non-Maasai through the schooling process in persuading schooled Maasai to start or expand farming activities in their families. Oletirina’s family provide a vivid illustration of the way in which discourses concerning farming have been negotiated through the schooling process. Their case also illustrates that some of those who went to school did not start farming for some time afterwards. Quite a few men of the Landiis age-set only started farming after emurrano. This was largely for two reasons: their fathers’ objections to farming, and the demands of emurrano activities.

Oletirina's son Ngayai was the first person in the family to cultivate. Both Ngayai and other members of his family attribute this to the schooling process. Ngayai finished primary school in 1982. He farmed on other people's farms when embesi were called, but did not get his own field until 1993. Whilst he was going to school, Ngayai stayed with Ali, a non-Maasai friend of his father who lived in the then small trading centre of Mairoua. During this period Ngayai worked on the school farm, and also worked on Ali's farm. Ngayai came to value farming, but was unable to farm at home once he left school because his father did not want to see land required by his cows used for farming, and did not think he had enough people to herd the animals if one grown-up son spent his time farming. When Ngayai tried to farm he was beaten by his father. Ali, the non-Maasai friend of Oletirina, tried first to persuade Oletirina to farm, and when this proved unsuccessful he encouraged Ngayai to farm. Ali was able to influence Ngayai, with whom he had kept up a friendship since the time Ngayai lived in his home. One brother remembers Ali's influence on Ngayai,

He started farming due to the great influence from the ormeeki whose house he stayed in who told him 'Ngayai, you should have your farm, Ngayai, you should have your farm', until Ngayai came to start because of that ormeeki.

Ngayai started to farm "stealthily", as he described it, against the will of his father. He fenced an area, claiming he was doing so to use it as a small pasture area for calves (olale), and in fact did use the area for that purpose for two years. In the third year, and importantly after Ngayai and Oletirina's other older sons had gone through eunoto¹² and had become junior elders, Ngayai described having "defeated" his father because of the new status of the brothers and starting farming in the calf pasture.

8.7.4 Farming in the Kiruswa family

Some Maasai children who went to school took up the national discourses being promoted through the school more than others. These children's reasons for wanting to farm and to encourage their families and communities to farm were accordingly somewhat different to those of children who were more hostile to their teachers and more resistant to the schooling process. The case of the Kiruswa family is illustrative.

¹² The ceremony marking the transition of ilmurran to junior elders.

Steven Kiruswa, who was discussed in Chapter Six, started at Engare Naibor Primary School in 1973. His parents and elder siblings had attempted farming when Steven was very young, but had had limited success and had given up the practice when conditions improved and the herd recovered. They recall having been unskilful at farming. His mother, for example, remembers putting a whole cup of seeds into each hole, with the result that the plants were extremely overcrowded. Steven recalls his mother telling him that in that period they had had one successful year, and then a series of years where they harvested very little. His mother told him that, as she reportedly put it, farming “is not for us, it is only for people from Arusha”.

Steven farmed and learnt about farming at school. He described to me how he had understood the ‘Education for Self-Reliance’ policy. He recalled learning that “agriculture is the backbone of the Tanzanian economy”, and that,

School was only a place to learn basic skills, reading and writing, mathematics, and when you do not go to high school because you did not pass the exam or you cannot afford to go any further, you should go home with a skill to make yourself self-reliant in terms of producing your own food. So the school was very clear that we were learning agriculture because agriculture is what would support our livelihoods if we did not get formal employment or further education School was training us, not just to grow food in school but to train us so when we did not qualify to go to high school, we could go and introduce farming in our families.

He recalled wanting to put into practice what he was learning at school by starting his own farm at home to see if he could grow his own crops. He made a very small ‘garden’ behind his mother’s house. He got seeds from the school, which he remembered being easy as they were plentiful in Mairoua because the government was promoting agriculture in the area and distributing farm equipment. He described the reaction of his father to his attempts at farming.

My father would come and threaten to beat me because I was wasting time tilling the land, trying to pretend I was growing something useful called crops. But I said “Now do not be angry with me because I will only do this in my spare time”. So I woke very early in the morning, I tilled my small garden, and then I went to graze, and at the end of the day I would put the goats in the pen and then go and dig it, and it did not interfere with my duties. The first crop, it was a very small tiny garden, but we had some beans and maize, and when my father ate the first corn from my garden he liked it, because the next season he said, “My son, you stay and tend your garden, I am going to do the grazing for you”, or he would come and meet me around four o’clock so that I could come home earlier to work on my small garden.

Later on the family started to farm a very small area of land together. Steven worked on this farm when he had the opportunity, and according to his mother, was keener than any of the other members of the family. His mother attributed this keenness to his spending time in Mairoua,

I think it is because he was in Mairoua because people in Mairoua at that time had farms.

8.7.5 The influence of schooled individuals beyond their families

The influence of schooled people on the uptake of farming in the area extended beyond their own families. Those who had been to school and had become convinced of the importance and value of farming attempted to encourage people outside their own families, such as age-mates and even those in senior age-sets, to farm. One man who was one of the first pupils at Engare Naibor Primary School recalled trying to encourage his friends to farm,

School is good because I remember in 1982 I told my two friends [who did not go to school] that we should look for farms in the area designated for farming. But we were scared because we were boys. In 1984 when we were *circumcised* I reminded them and they agreed. But on the day when we were supposed to go and tell [the man responsible for allocating fields] to give us farms they ran away. Then I went myself and was given a farm. I tried to persuade my friends to look for farms because I realised that the land would get full of people and we would miss getting farms. All this is because of school. The teachers told us that when a person fails his Standard Seven exams, then he should farm because it is the next best thing after education which can rescue a person. So if it were not for education I would not have a big farm like the one I own now. My two friends now have small gardens (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Another Landiis man explained that,

Many of the Ilmakaa were taught by people of my age to take their farms, because many of them did not have farms. But we came to know that the farm has meaning, even though we were *ilmurran*, because many of my age set were educated. So when we came out of school we knew that farming cannot fail a person. We came to force many of them to take farms by saying that "You should never step on my farm. When I call an *embesji*, do not come, because you do not have yours that I can go to". Then they also came to see that farms can help people, so we criticised them until they all took [farms]. And even those of my age set who did not want to, we did not want to hear of anybody not having a farm (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

8.8 'Being schooled' and being a good farmer

Many of those who are now trying to act in 'schooled' ways see farming as an important aspect of this identity. In conversations about the effects of schooling on their livelihoods, many Maasai who had been to school proudly talk about their greater skill in farming as something they had gained as a result of the schooling process. This way of being 'schooled' has clearly been informed by Swahili and national discourses of development and education, encountered both whilst at school and afterwards. The schooling process has both encouraged many of those who went to value farming, and resulted in the acquisition of skills and abilities by some which are thought to have enabled them to be better farmers.

Many of those who did not go to school have also come to think that schooling provides the skills and knowledge to farm well, and this is one thing they have come to value about schooling.

Nowadays I have come to touch matters of farming and I think that if I were educated I would not be here [but would be a better farmer] (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

Former pupils think that the greater skill they claim to have in farming resulted from a number of aspects of the schooling process. As has been documented above, working on farms at school, and seeing farming being done in Mairoua and beyond is thought to have allowed those who went to school to farm. Another way in which many of my informants believe that having been to school has made them better farmers is through being chosen to attend NGO or government seminars or meetings concerning farming practices. The Tanzanian government and some of the NGOs and church organisations active in the area have been, and in many cases still are, keen to promote cultivation in Engare Naibor, for the reasons discussed in Chapter Four. These various organisations tend to select (or request local intermediaries to select) people who have been to school and have good levels of KiSwahili and literacy to attend in order that teaching should be unproblematic. In some cases local intermediaries make the assumption themselves that the type of people wanted are those who have been to school, as they envisage that people who are schooled will act in appropriate ways. Some schooled individuals go to numerous such events, and believe that the information they are exposed to is helpful in allowing them to farm more successfully.

Data were collected through the questionnaire (see 3.5.1) to determine whether ilmarei headed by men who had been to school had access to more land, farmed more land, or were more successful farmers. These data provide further evidence that the schooling process has influenced the practice of crop cultivation.

Table 8.1: Schooling of ilmarei head and acres accessible

Acres accessible to <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who went to school	Acres accessible to <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
5.42 acres	5.64 acres	NOT SIGNIFICANT. (N=41, U=205.500, p=0.927)

Table 8.2: Schooling of ilmarei head and acres planted

Acres planted by <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who went to school	Acres planted by <u>ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
3.58 acres	2.77 acres	NOT SIGNIFICANT. (N=41, U=162.500, p=0.206)

Land is allocated to individuals who have successfully requested it from the village land committee. There is no significant difference between the acres of land accessible to ilmarei headed by Landiis¹³ men who have and have not been to school (see Table 8.1). However, some ilmarei do not plant all the land they have been allocated. Whilst a statistical test comparing the acres of land planted by ilmarei headed by Landiis who have and have not been to school does not reveal a significant difference, the mean acres planted is higher for ilmarei with schooled heads (see Table 8.2). That the amount of land accessible to these groups of ilmarei is not different is understandable given that the land committee which allocates farmland takes into account the amount of land already allocated to certain individuals when making decisions. However, some men who went to school obtained land earlier than their peers, and may therefore have got better quality land. Many of the Landiis men who were mentioned by informants as having got land for farming early had been to school, and this is thought to have been because they were not so occupied with emurrano activities.

¹³ Only ilmarei headed by Landiis were considered. It was not possible to carry out the same analysis for Irkiponi, as so few of them head their own ilmarei. As the numbers of Ilmakaa who have been to school are extremely low, this analysis was not carried out for them.

It is because they went to school. They did not hold *emurrang* as firmly as us because of the little *eng'eng* they had (Maasai man, Landiis, no schooling).

There is a significant difference between the mean maize and beans harvests from the farms of *ilmarei* with heads who have and have not been to school (see Tables 8.3 and 8.4).

Table 8.3: Schooling of *olmarei* head and maize harvest

Mean maize harvest of <i>ilmarei</i> headed by Landiis who went to school	Mean maize harvest of <i>ilmarei</i> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
11.33 sacks	5.43 sacks	SIGNIFICANT. (N=41, U=121.000, p=0.021)

Table 8.4: Schooling of *olmarei* head and beans harvest

Mean beans harvest of <i>ilmarei</i> headed by Landiis who went to school	Mean beans harvest of <i>ilmarei</i> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
1.66 sacks	0.50 sacks	SIGNIFICANT. (N=41, U=119.000, p=0.013)

Knowing about, and being able to obtain modern inputs for farming was also mentioned by many of those who have been to school as making them better farmers than their unschooled peers. Information about hybrid seeds, for example, has been in the Tanzanian school syllabus for a long time. Some of the adults who went to school in Engare Naibor Primary School in the 1970s, 80s, and 90s recall having been taught about these things. Others came to know about these seeds after they had left school, learning about them whilst in Mairoua, at seminars, or through listening to KiSwahili radio programmes. Many of those who have been to school also believe that schooling has made them more open to new ideas, or advice from 'experts'. For instance, one man described to me how he sought advice from a non-Maasai livestock officer in Mairoua, whom he got to know whilst at school in the 1970s.

I use seeds from shops. I started in 1998. I saw the ones I was using were not good. I talked to Matayo [the livestock officer] and he advised me. First of all I bought 'Kagil 4141'. I changed as they were not very good. They are attacked by weevils in the store. I asked Matayo what seeds he uses. He told me not to use 'Kilima'

as there are better seeds nowadays. I was talking to him about livestock, as he is my good friend, and then we got on to seeds (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

Getting such seeds usually requires negotiating Swahili environments in urban areas like Arusha. I encountered numerous cases of schooled siblings, friends, and members of the same olmarei being sent to town to buy these seeds for other people who had not been to school. The literacy skills of those who became literate through the schooling process were also mentioned by many as being useful for reading the labels on packets in order to buy suitable seeds and other inputs.

Data from the questionnaire reveal that ilmarei headed by Landiis men who have been to school are significantly more likely to have used both hybrid seeds and pesticides in 2004 (see Table 8.5). Those who have been to school have also been influential in persuading others to use these inputs. For instance, Steven Kiruswa and another secondary educated man in Engare Naibor have in the past bought and brought large quantities of hybrid seeds to sell to their families, friends and neighbours in order, as they both saw it, to improve the quality of farming being done in the area.

Table 8.5. Schooling of olmarei head and the use of farm inputs

	<u>Ilmarei</u> with schooled head	<u>Ilmarei</u> with unschooled head	Results of chi-Square test
Used hybrid seeds	13/20 (65.0%)	7/22 (40.9%)	SIGNIFICANT (N=42, Xsq=4.624, df=1, p=0.032)
Used pesticides	12/20 (60.0%)	6/22 (27.3%)	SIGNIFICANT (N=42, Xsq=4.582, df=1, p=0.032)

The results of listing exercises (see 3.5.3) support the contention that those who have been to school are better farmers (see Table 8.6). Landiis men gave lists of those of their peers they considered to be the ‘best’ farmers in terms of the productivity of fields over the last few years, rather than the size of farms. 151/226 (66.8%) of these individuals had been to school. This is considerably higher than the percentage of Landiis men in the area who have gone to school (46.1%).

Of the Irkiponi men listed by their peers to be the best farmers in this younger age-set in Engare Naibor 85/187 (45.5%) had been to school, compared 35.4% of Irkiponi men in the area who had been to school (excluding those still at school) (see Table 8.6). There

are two likely causes of this difference between the age-sets. Firstly, with the expansion of cultivation in Engare Naibor most children have tended to get experience of working on farms whether they have gone to school or not. It is possibly because of this change over time that, unlike for the older Landiis, a smaller relative proportion of those Irkiponi who are putting a lot of time and energy into cultivation, and who have the requisite skills, are those who have been to school. Secondly, since the 1970s, and with the demise of socialism and much of the ideology that went with it, the strength with which the schooling process has promoted cultivation has diminished.

Table 8.6: Schooling and farming success as judged by peers

Age-set	Percentage of men listed as 'best' farmers who have been to school	Percentage of men in the area who have been to school
Landiis	66.8% (151/226)	46.1% (24/52)
Irkiponi ¹⁴	45.5% (85/187)	35.4% (28/79)

8.9 The effects of the uptake of cultivation on Maasai livelihoods

Maasai in Engare Naibor now see cultivation as necessary to prevent hunger, and desirable to allow herds to be preserved and built up. They think schooling did and does provide the skills and knowledge to farm well, and they have come to value this aspect of the process. However, there is concern that with increasing population pressure land is becoming scarcer, both for livestock grazing and for cultivation. People are concerned that with increasing demand for farmland there will be a decision to allow farming in areas currently set aside for livestock, where cultivation is forbidden. It is acknowledged that if cultivation is allowed in areas reserved for livestock, then the possibility of keeping large herds under conditions considered to be more optimal will be a thing of the past.

Kjaerby argued, on the strength of data from a study on Barabaig agro-pastoralism, that in the long term herding and cultivation in one homestead are incompatible (Kjaerby 1979). He argued that for poor households with a labour shortage, unable to split into two homesteads, agro-pastoralism is a necessary liability, and that stationary grazing

¹⁴ Individuals who were still at school are excluded.

within a densely populated area would tend to affect milk yields and herd reproduction negatively (Kjaerby 1979).

In terms of environmental sustainability, Kjaerby's study also painted a negative picture of the type of agro-pastoralism being practised in Engare Naibor, arguing that it is less environmentally sustainable than mobile pastoralism. He described how practicing agro-pastoralism reduces the range and increases stocking densities, which causes overgrazing and soil erosion (Kjaerby 1979). Conroy (2001) likewise argued, in his study of agricultural crop production amongst Maasai in Monduli District, that the short term gains acquired from agricultural crop production resulted in rampant soil erosion, and the loss of valuable grazing lands for livestock.

However, McCabe argued that cultivation is an important way in which Maasai in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) have tried to create sustainable livelihoods (2003). He investigated how the granting of permission to NCA residents to cultivate has affected household economies and nutritional status. He found that distress sales of reproductive female cattle in order to buy grain were dramatically lower in the period where households were able to cultivate. He also found that the addition of agriculture resulted in large reductions in rates of malnutrition amongst children. He concluded from this evidence that the NCA pastoral livelihood before the ban on cultivation was lifted was under stress and not sustainable, but the uptake of cultivation provided important advances towards sustainable livelihoods. However, the NCA is agro-ecologically very different to Engare Naibor, being wetter and having very fertile volcanic soils, so the positive effects of the uptake of agriculture by Maasai in the NCA are not necessarily informative in this context. The study on the livelihoods of Maasai in five sites in Longido District, as well as Engare Naibor (see 7.3.5) calls into question the contribution of agriculture to Maasai livelihoods in this area. Overall 67% of all households enumerated cultivated land in 2002/3, but during the study period, 37% of those with lowland and 22% of those with upland farms sampled failed to harvest any crops due to drought and wildlife damage (Homewood et al. 2006a).

From this discussion it is clear that evaluating the effects on 'livelihoods' of the uptake of cultivation by pastoralists is not a simple matter. There is some evidence that whilst it has negative environmental consequences, and negative consequences for the long-term viability of pastoralism, the shorter-term effects on household economies and nutrition

may in some contexts be positive. What can be stated with certainty is that livelihoods have changed as a result of the adoption of cultivation.

8.10 Summary and conclusions

Whilst other factors have been important, the schooling process has promoted the adoption, expansion and increased productivity of cultivation by Maasai in Engare Naibor, through pupils gaining skills which have allowed them to farm more successfully, and being exposed to discourses promoting farming, whilst in and around school and after schooling was completed. Cultivation is now established as an important aspect of Maasai livelihoods in the area.

The articulation between national agendas and discourses surrounding cultivation, and those of teachers and non-Maasai involved in the schooling process in Engare Naibor, has resulted in the schooling process having had the effect of encouraging and facilitating Maasai uptake of cultivation. Whilst the promotion of farming in schools has been encouraged through the curriculum, teachers and non-Maasai in Engare Naibor have re-interpreted national discourses to their own ends. For example, teachers have used the power their positions have afforded, and the power harnessed by co-opting the national discourses informing the school farms policy, to maintain farms in schools for their own benefit. This has sustained the success of the schooling process in promoting farming. However, Maasai have re-interpreted the discourses they encountered through the schooling process and in other contexts. As was discussed in Chapter Seven, many Maasai in Engare Naibor see cultivation not as an alternative to pastoralism in the way that the discourses promoted through the schooling process do, but rather as a way to support it.

Given the decline of the ideologies in Tanzania which emphasized cultivation, especially the relative demise of farming in schools, the schooling process is unlikely to have such a pronounced effect in terms of promoting cultivation in the future in pastoralist areas where little cultivation is practised, or amongst pastoralists who do not cultivate.

Chapter Nine: Schooling and diversification into off-land activities

9.1 Introduction

Diversification into non-farm rural employment is increasing across sub-Saharan Africa, driven by need and in response to new opportunities (Ellis 2000, Bryceson 1997). The pastoralists of East Africa are no exception, and are increasingly pursuing non-pastoral livelihood strategies, including income diversification (Kituyi 1990, Little et al. 2001, Zaal & Dietz 1999). There are many reasons why pastoralists diversify, and the range of activities they engage in varies in different contexts. Pastoralists may diversify their livelihoods in order to meet consumption needs, or to buttress against shocks caused by climatic fluctuations, animal disease, market failure, and insecurity. Wealthier herders may seek diversification to promote economic growth, while the poor may seek diversification to survive. These livelihood strategies are shaped by opportunities and constraints, with different choices available to people according to wealth and position, family and social networks, gender, agro-ecological and geographical location, and skills (Ellis 2000). The choices people make are also shaped by their values, aspirations, and self-understandings. Education can affect what options are available, and which options are preferred. For example, in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa education has been found to result in many of the youth who remain in the countryside being less satisfied with a strictly agrarian life (Bryceson 1997).

Interventions in pastoralist areas in the region, including formal education, have been informed by the assumption that eastern African pastoralism is intrinsically self-destructive and that pastoralists should be steered into other allegedly more secure means of assuring their livelihoods (Anderson 1999). Development in the context of pastoral people has commonly meant the implementation of programmes which aim to diminish the significance of the pastoral sector for livelihoods. This was the case in Tanzania in the Socialist period in terms of the promotion of cultivation through schooling. More recently, with the declining emphasis on agriculture in school curricula, and by the state in general, diversification into non-farm occupations is increasingly understood to be an important aim of formal education by the teachers and

non-Maasai who influence the schooling process in Engare Naibor. One teacher described what he sees as an important aim of schooling.

They'll know to read and write and calculate. Once they know these things they can progress themselves in various ways. For example, they can be employed by the government, various organisations, or they can employ themselves by doing private activities that bring in a large income (Teacher at Engare Naibor Primary School).

9.2 Schooling and off-land activities

In this chapter I will consider the extent to which the schooling process has influenced Maasai involvement in various off-land livelihood activities. When quantitative data concerning Ngosuak are referred to, rather than Engare Naibor in general, these come from the questionnaire. This chapter also draws on listing exercises, interviews, and family case-studies.

9.2.1 Formal sector employment

Some Maasai from Ngosuak and elsewhere in Engare Naibor who have been to secondary school have obtained salaried employment including government administrative positions, teaching, and NGO posts. All those who have been to secondary school and obtained formal sector employment either work in Engare Naibor, or work nearby and return regularly, maintaining households which practice pastoralism and farming. There have occasionally been opportunities for short-term relatively highly paid employment, such as registering village residents to vote before the national elections, of which young people who have had some secondary education have taken advantage. However, very few Maasai in Engare Naibor have completed secondary education. For instance, only three men and one woman from Ngosuak enumerated in the questionnaire have done so. Opportunities for formal sector employment are very rare for those who have only been to primary school. Only 4 of the 117 men and women recorded in Ngosuak in the questionnaire in the Irkiponi and Landiis age-sets who had been to primary school but not to secondary had what might be described as formal sector employment. Two of these people were nursery school teachers, who were paid sporadically through contributions from parents, one was working as a guide for a safari company which operates in the area, and the other was working as a government livestock extension officer. In Engare Naibor as a whole, a few young men who have

been to primary school have been employed as guides, a few have jobs such as running a grinding mill, and others work as livestock extension officers, or ‘Village Executive Officers’, which are paid local government positions. A small number of primary educated men and women are finding very low-paid employment with NGOs and church organisations active in the area, for example as adult literacy teachers.

Quantitative household data collected by Trench and colleagues (2007) in the Longido study (see 7.3.5) recorded very few schooled individuals who had obtained formal sector employment. Only ten individuals of ages equivalent to the Irkiponi and Landiis age-sets had such jobs, out of 465 people of these ages who had had some schooling.

9.2.2 Unpaid government employment

Unpaid local government posts can be beneficial for livelihoods because they facilitate access to assets such as land and development assistance, and put the post-holder in the position of gatekeeper for access to such resources by other people. Those who have been to school are reportedly increasingly prevalent amongst these post-holders because they are seen by voters as capable of negotiating the non-Maasai sphere, and because the Tanzanian government now insists that posts such as village chairman are held by people who have at least completed primary school. Secretaries on various local government committees also have to have been to school. However, these opportunities are relatively few in number: Only six of the 117 men and women recorded in Ngosuak in the questionnaire in the Irkiponi and Landiis age-sets who had been to primary school but not to secondary had such positions.

9.2.3 Property in trading centres

Some local Maasai have built or bought property in Mairoua, which is usually rented out for residential or commercial use, or used by members of the owner’s family for such purposes. There is a good deal of demand for rental property in Mairoua due to high levels of in-migration into the trading centre by non-Maasai, and owning property in Mairoua trading centre has for many years been a reliable source of income. Whilst some older, very wealthy Maasai men have built property with the help of educated friends and relatives, amongst those from the Landiis and even Irkiponi age-sets the great majority of those who have built have been to school themselves. This is in part

because some of those who have been to school have got salaried employment and thus have cash to invest. It is also because those who have been to school have the skills and confidence to purchase building materials, and negotiate with contractors. Moreover, those who value a schooled identity recognise building as an important marker of an educated person. However, owning property in trading centres is relatively rare. Only 8 out of 107 ilmarej in Ngosuak owned buildings in Mairoua.

9.2.4 Commodity trade and working in Mairoua

Those younger Maasai men who run shops in Mairoua trading centre, or who do large-scale market trading in the area, have all been to school. Some wealthy older men of the Ilmakaa and Iseuri age-sets also run shops despite not having gone to school, but they are assisted by their wives, children, and relatives who have been to school.

Maasai people working in Mairoua trading centre, in shops and providing other services, were identified through a census. Together with a research assistant I visited all shops and places of employment and made a list of the Maasai who were working there and whether or not they had been to school. Women selling small amounts of milk or other commodities on a casual basis were not included in this list. Of the 32 individuals recorded, 23 had had at least some schooling (71.9%). More people who have been to school are able and confident, and wish to work in the relatively Swahili environment of Mairoua. However, the number of Maasai from the whole of Engare Naibor working in Mairoua is small.

9.2.5 Women's livelihoods

Maasai women in Engare Naibor have had little opportunity for economic diversification of a type that would utilise skills and abilities gained at school (see 6.2.6). Small scale trade of various commodities (such as tea, sugar, maize, tobacco, and home-brewed alcohol) both in Mairoua trading centre, the weekly market in Mairoua, and within inkangitie was the only off-farm occupation recorded for women in Ngosuak in significant numbers. This kind of trading by Maasai women is by no means a new phenomenon. There are records of the importance of women's trading to families and household economies in the past (see Brockington 2001: 210).

Women of an equivalent age to the Irkiponi age-set did very little such trading, probably due to the lack of autonomy common amongst younger wives. Older women did more such trading, possibly as a result of older women having more younger dependants to whom they can delegate household tasks while they are away. Women who had been to school were not statistically more likely to do such trade than their unschooled peers (see Table 9.1). Women who had not been to school do not seem to be very disadvantaged when doing this sort of trade because it does not necessarily involve negotiating non-Maasai environments, and almost all transactions can be made with other Maasai.

Table 9.1: Schooling and women's trading¹⁵

Age-set equivalent	Percentage of women who trade who have been to school	Percentage of women in the area who have been to school	Results of chi-Square test
Irkiponi	40.0% (6/15)	27.6% (24/87)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=87, df=1, Xsq=1.398, p=0.237)
Landiis	35.3% (12/34)	30.8% (24/76)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=76, df=1, Xsq=0.393, p=0.531)

Only two women of an equivalent age to men of the Landiis age-set were recorded in the questionnaire as having unpaid government leadership positions, out of 168 women of ages equivalent to men of the Landiis and Irkiponi age-sets.

9.2.6 Livestock Trade

Mairoua has a long history of profitable, if unofficial, cross border livestock trade. This involves men buying animals in Tanzania, driving them to Kenyan livestock markets where prices are higher (avoiding border posts and taxes on the outward journey), and selling them at a profit. This trade has been going on since before the first school was built in the area. In fact, Mairoua was cited in the 1940s colonial archives as a centre of cross-border livestock trade and rustling (R. Waller, personal communication, July 2004).

¹⁵ For all analyses of occupations, individuals who are still at school are excluded.

Amongst Irkiponi men schooling does seem to increase the likelihood of an individual doing livestock trade, and this relationship is statistically significant (see Table 9.2). This is not the case amongst Landiis men.

Table 9.2: Schooling and involvement in livestock trading

Age-set	Percentage of men who do livestock trade who have been to school	Percentage of men in the area who have been to school	Results of chi-Square test
Irkiponi	76.5% (13/17)	35.4% (28/79)	SIGNIFICANT (N=79, Xsq=15.935, df=1, p=0.000)
Landiis	53.3% (8/15)	46.1% (24/52)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=52, Xsq=0.437, df=1, p=0.508)

Data from Trench and colleagues' study (2007) again provide a comparison with other Maasai communities. For these communities, the same patterns are apparent. For the younger age-group, livestock trade does seem to be dominated by men who have been to school, although this is not the case for the older age-group (see Table 9.3).

Table 9.3: Schooling and involvement in livestock trading amongst Longido sample

Age-set	Percentage of men who do livestock trade who have been to school	Percentage of men in the Longido sample who have been to school	Results of chi-Square test
Irkiponi	86.7% (13/15)	54.4% (178/327)	SIGNIFICANT (N=327, Xsq=6.585, df=1, p=0.008)
Landiis	37.5% (3/8)	42.1% (53/126)	Cannot run test because of small numbers.

Table 9.4: Schooling and livestock trading success as judged by peers

Age-set	Percentage of men judged to be the best livestock traders who have been to school	Percentage of men in the area who have been to school
Irkiponi	61.2% (30/49)	35.4% (28/79)
Landiis	30.8% (16/52)	46.1% (24/52)

The results of a listing exercise (see 3.5.3) suggest that amongst young Maasai men of the Irkiponi age-set in Engare Naibor, those who have been to school also make up a

relatively high proportion of those judged to be the most successful livestock traders. This is not the case for the Landiis age-set (see Table 9.4).

Some of those involved in this trade, especially older men, do not think that having been to school facilitates success. However, negotiating bureaucracy at the international border post at Namanga when returning from Kenya, handling large sums of money of different currencies and exchanging currency, being able to use public transport, and selling to non-Maasai Kenyans, are currently understood by others in Engare Naibor, more often younger men, to be facilitated by having gained eng'eno from school. One livestock trader voiced common opinions held by those young men who have been to school who are doing this trade.

When selling goats I can communicate well with irmeek buyers because I know the language. Also, when exchanging currencies at Namanga from Kenyan to Tanzanian Shillings, I do well because I know mathematics, unlike those who have not been to school who ask me, "Make sure that ormeeki does not steal from me" (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

Altered understandings prevalent in Engare Naibor of appropriate occupations for young men, which have been influenced through the schooling process, are arguably also a factor which has led to relatively high numbers of schooled young men engaging in livestock trade.

9.2.7 Irkiponi *askari*

According to local informants the phenomenon of men, largely ilmurran, migrating to cities to work as night-watchmen (hereafter *askari*) has become much more common in Engare Naibor in recent years, as is the case amongst Maasai in Tanzania in general (May 2002). Maasai are employed as *askari* in towns partly because they are perceived as fearless and warrior-like (Coast 2006). The work is dangerous, and all of the *askari* interviewed in a study by Coast knew of others who had been killed whilst at work (E. Coast, personal communication, February 2007). Those migrating to work as *askari* periodically return to their home areas, bringing money back. This pattern of migration differs considerably from that of non-Maasai rural youth in Tanzania, many of whom are apparently migrating to the city and staying indefinitely (May 2003). Respondents in a study by May (2003) generally cited poverty, and the desire to earn enough money to replenish their shrunken livestock herds and return home, as the reasons for their

migration. Her informants were migrating to make money to invest in livestock “in order to remain pastoralist” (May 2003: 291). These reasons were commonly cited by migrants from Engare Naibor, although other explanations were also given which I will explore.

Men of the Irkiponi age-set were asked to list all of their age-mates from the whole of Engare Naibor who were currently in cities working as *askari* or trying to get such work, as well as those who were at home but known to be in the process of circular migration (see 3.5.3). The lists given by these men were compiled to produce a comprehensive list. Of the 66 men listed, 38 had been to school (57.6%), compared to 35.4% of the equivalent resident population (excluding those still at school). The sibling analysis (see 3.5.1) provides another source of data which supports the conclusion that Irkiponi who had been to school are more likely to go to work as *askari*. Analysis of these data reveals that, of the Irkiponi who had migrated out of Ngosuak to work as *askari*, an estimated 71.8% (4.45/6.20) had been to school. For the Landiis this figure was only 23.2% (0.83/3.58) compared to 46.1% of the equivalent resident population. However, this method of data collection and analysis proved problematic, as it became apparent that it was not capturing all out-migrants, resulting in very small numbers and necessitating the list explained above. These results should therefore be treated with caution.

It is not possible to use data from the Longido study (see 7.3.5) to look at levels of schooling amongst *askari* because it only includes those deemed by the interviewee to be resident in the olmarei, so many of those from the study areas working as *askari* would not have been recorded. In May’s study only 22.7% of the respondents had been to school, although no data for levels of education in the home-areas of these migrants is available for comparison and no conclusions can therefore be drawn from this study as to whether those who had been to school were more likely to be working as *askari* (May 2003).

The two sources of data which I collected in Engare Naibor together provide evidence to suggest that a higher proportion of Irkiponi men from Engare Naibor who have been to school are going to town to look for employment as *askari* than their age-mates who did not go to school. This is likely to have resulted in part from the difficulties experienced by Maasai who have not been to school when migrating in search of work

as *askari*. It is arguably also because of altered understandings of appropriate occupations for young men, and their aspirations, which have been influenced through the schooling process.

Young male migrants who did not go to school experience difficulties when looking for work as *askari*. This work involves negotiating urban areas, most commonly Arusha, but frequently Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Being able to speak KiSwahili, and to read and write and manage on one's own in Swahili environments is perceived to be useful, although not essential. These competencies make the migration experience easier, but because it involves interacting within networks of other Maasai migrants it is possible for those who have not been to school to successfully get work. However, negative experiences deter young men who have not been to school from migrating in search of this work or remaining in town, as the following recollections attest to.

It was hard as I was not a Swahili so I waited a long time before I got a man to help me. The KiSwahili speakers are the ones who stay as they are the ones who know how to use the wily ways (*vichochoro*). For example, when I was working there, when I was released to go and visit with friends, when I returned I had to re-trace the same way so I would not get lost. They could pass any way. I got a lot of problems because someone else helped me to get that job, but when my boss came and spoke, I was just staring at him. At the end of the month I had to go and get the man who got me the job to come and tell my boss to pay me money (Maasai man, Irkiponi, no schooling).

I woke up and went to Mairoua to get into a car. I did not know Arusha, I had just heard the name. When I went, I went to Sakina [a place in Arusha]. I decided to alight there. I met with a man working there, and he decided to take me to his place of work. I stayed with him at night, and his boss came. The other man did not speak KiSwahili either, and had not informed his boss of me. When his boss found us, he said "Who is this?" My friend did not understand. The boss said I was a robber, and [in his confusion] the other man said yes. We were chased. We went to sleep in a sewer (Maasai man, Irkiponi, no schooling).

Changing ideas about what schooled Maasai should do, which have been formulated through the discursive negotiations the schooling process has involved, have encouraged young men in Engare Naibor to seek work as *askari*. They see themselves as engaging in an activity which is viewed as commensurate with their schooling, which utilises the eng'eno they feel they gained from having gone to school.

Many of those of our age-set who went to school have gone far to other places to seek jobs for themselves because they were being disturbed by the little eng'eno they got from school. When they left school they did

not have anywhere to utilise their *eng'eno*, so they went to other places to try their luck (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

9.2.8 Other income generating options for Irkiponi men

As changing conditions have made it more difficult to sustain one's family through subsistence activities, and with the increasing costs of school fees, hospital expenses, and material goods desired, it has become increasingly important to access cash in other ways. Pressure on *ilmurran* to access money has consequently increased. There are a limited number of possible ways for young men with no, or only primary education to make money in Engare Naibor. These include livestock trading, migrating to work as *askari*, doing casual work on farms, or working as hired herders. Migrating to seek work as *askari*, or doing livestock trade, are potentially more profitable occupations. Livestock trading is risky and requires initial capital. Monthly wages for *askari* range from US\$14 to US\$71 (Coast 2006). Working full-time as a casual worker, for example weeding farms, it might only be possible to earn about US\$20 a month. Working as a paid herder is more regular than casual work. A paid herder might expect to receive only about US\$15 a month, as well as having all his other needs taken care of by his employer, including food, accommodation, and clothes. Working as a herder and being paid in cash is a relatively new phenomenon in the area which only employs a few people.

Table 9.5: Schooling and doing casual work

Percentage of Irkiponi men who do casual work who have been to school	Percentage of Irkiponi men in the area who have been to school	Results of chi-Square test
34.3% (12/35)	35.4% (28/79)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=79, Xsq=0.037, df=1, p=0.519)

Table 9.6: Schooling and working as a paid herder

Percentage of Irkiponi men who work as paid herders who have been to school	Percentage of Irkiponi men in the area who have been to school	Results of chi-Square test
21.4% (3/14)	35.4% (28/79)	Cannot run test because of small numbers.

The number of Irkiponi men recorded in the questionnaire as doing casual labour who had been to school was not significantly different from the value expected on the basis of levels of schooling in the population (see Table 9.5). Of those Irkiponi men who worked as hired herders who were recorded in the Ngosuk questionnaire as residents of enumerated ilmarei, fewer had been to school than would be expected given levels of schooling in the population. However, as few people work as hired herders, only a small number were recorded in Ngosuk (see Table 9.6). A listing exercise which covered a larger area (see 3.5.3) also suggests that those who have been to school work as paid herders less frequently than their unschooled peers. 8/32 (25%) of Irkiponi listed as working as hired herders had been to school, compared to 35.4% in the equivalent population.

9.3 The changing ideas of ilmurran about appropriate occupations for those who have been to school

For men of the Irkiponi age-set, livestock trading or working as *askari* is usually an individual decision. In Engare Naibor, many of those who go to town in search of work as *askari* do not share this decision with their families. They are often encouraged to leave, or are said to be 'stolen' by others who have returned from town. May found a similar situation amongst the Maasai migrants she interviewed.

Young men 'just walked away' from home, often without consulting their elders, sometimes telling no one except their wives that they were leaving (May 2002: 263).

The majority of young livestock traders with whom I talked similarly claimed that they made the decision to start trading independent of their families, a claim that was generally supported by the members of these families interviewed. Given that these decisions are being made by ilmurran themselves, I will now consider the ways schooling has influenced their ideas about appropriate occupations for those who have been to school

From the evidence presented in this chapter it appears that for Irkiponi men schooling has only influenced decisions over engaging in money-making activities outside the Maasai sphere, most commonly livestock trading and working as *askari*. Schooling has

encouraged this diversification through facilitating these occupations, or at least making people think these occupations will be facilitated by having been to school. The schooling process has also influenced changing ideas about appropriate occupations for ilmurran who have gone to school through which they can obtain wealth to use in ways they understand to be commensurate with their schooling and the altered aspirations it has engendered in them. Many ilmurran who have been to school currently wish to, as they put it, ‘use the little eng’eno they have’ to ‘collect for *maendeleo*’.

For the Landiis and older age-sets, as one man explained, “traditional (*mila*) things were deeper”, and emurrano activities (see Box 6.1) took up a lot of young men’s time. Emurrano activities are increasingly understood by those who have been to school to be inappropriate uses of their time which are unlikely to lead to the sorts of development which schooling and the discourses surrounding it promote. Moreover, with increasing levels of perceived poverty, many ilmurran no longer feel able to afford the luxury of emurrano and have been forced to look outside the pastoral economy to support their families.

The discourses promoted through schooling have been critical of young people’s involvement in emurrano activities. Government authorities in Tanzania have come out openly against the period of emurrano for various reasons, among them the “warriors’ excessive laziness” (Ndagala 1978: 212, cited in Rigby 1990). Such ideas are apparent in Swahili discourse in Engare Naibor, especially within schools. Teachers and non-Maasai tend to consider this period as one of idleness, and encourage Maasai to abandon or reduce it (Bonini 1996). Teachers view emurrano as a major source of distraction from education and an important cause of absenteeism amongst both male and female pupils. They have presented emurrano, as well as many other aspects of Maasai ‘tradition’, as antithetical to schooling and acting in ways appropriate for people who have been to school. As education has become more valued, many ilmurran who have been to school have begun to understand emurrano in this way, and to reject aspects of it and other things regarded as traditional, in favour of acting like the *Waelewa* envisaged in Swahili discourse.

They [teachers] said education was better than emurrano and you cannot mix them (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

Our fathers, did they not like emurrano a lot? But we who have got a bit of eng'eno do not see those things as things which can help us. Because we have a bit of eng'eno, we want to have some changes. We want those things which lead people astray to be stopped because we have seen that they are not helpful. Esoto does not help you. Having braided hair does not help, but school eng'eno is what helps you because right now education is ahead of everything. So if you do not have eng'eno, you may not even be able to help yourself. Right now everyone wants to know education because education is what is leading the world. I was taught that those things [emurrano activities] make you get lost, and those things are not helpful at all, they just increase your stupidity. They [teachers] advised us in an assembly that those things were making us get lost. For example, you could find girls sleeping in class because they went to esoto, or you could find ilmurran just roaming up and down doing nothing. They said 'when you go for your holidays, just follow book matters and do not do outdated things which are not helpful to you (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

One young man from a relatively well-off family who had been to primary school, and was working as an *askari* in Arusha, explained his decision to migrate. He claimed that, "I decided to do it because I had been doing nothing at home as there were enough people to herd. I was just staying idle". Whilst some of his peers would have relished the opportunity to engage fully in emurrano, this young man felt it to be an inappropriate use of his time.

Ilmurran have observed some Landiis men who went to school who invested less time and effort in emurrano, and who have been relatively successful in terms of what Swahili discourse considers to be *maendeleo* through engaging in alternative occupations. This has encouraged these ilmurran to prioritise other activities at the expense of emurrano. Those who have not been to school have observed this amongst some of their schooled peers, who do not take part in many emurrano activities.

If they meet us jumping or celebrating after killing an animal, they just watch us but do not take part, as they have become clever people. Or we go to ceremonies and feel proud because people say 'so and so has killed a buffalo or a lion'. They just watch, they say "this activity is not helping", they say "the pen is leading" (Maasai man, Irkiponi, no schooling).

Through schooling pupils have both observed and heard about different ways of making a living. They have been exposed to these possibilities through reading teaching materials which describe different industries, occupations, and ways of life. They have also seen how their teachers and people in Mairoua make a living. Not only are pupils exposed to alternative livelihoods through going to school, but pastoralism is also denigrated. It is presented in the discourses encountered through the schooling process as insecure, and the ways of practising pastoralism common in the area are presented as

irrational or 'backward'. Younger Maasai who have been to school are increasingly taking up these negative ideas about extensive pastoralism, and see placing too much emphasis on livestock rearing in their livelihood strategies as inappropriate for people who have gone to school. However, none of the Irkiponi with whom I have talked have taken up these discourses to the extent that they do not wish to keep livestock. Cash from off-land activities is generally invested in livestock, which is assumed to be the most prudent way to save and invest, and diversification is generally conceptualised as supporting livelihoods and a way of life in which livestock are a vital part. However, as a result of exposure to alternatives, and the denigration of pastoralism, ilmurran are increasingly keen to engage in off-land activities as well. One olmurran, when asked if he thought he was different from his peers who had not gone to school, replied that,

Yes. There are things that they carry on doing but I have left them, like why if we were circumcised together do I have many smallstock and others do not, and I have capital, and they do not? To get these things, I have not used a lot of strength, but I have used my intelligence (*akili*) (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

Engaging in activities outside the Maasai sphere in order to make money is increasingly viewed by those who have been to school as a way to utilise the intelligence they feel they got from school, and to work towards the successfully diversified livelihoods they have come to aspire to.

[Those who have not gone to school] just use this one path of pastoralism. Someone who has studied sees many because he knows many other trades (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

Many do many businesses, unlike past ilmurran. People are getting intelligence (*akili*). Because a Standard Seven leaver who has not gone on [to secondary school] has come to know that staying idle is not beneficial ... It is education that will show you things of *maendeleo* (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

Pastoralism, it's not a thing to depend on a lot, because with pastoralism you can rear livestock until a time comes when they get problems, and start to die pointlessly if there is no grass. I cannot depend on that one type of work because of the education I have, although it is just a bit. I see that I should choose work to aim at which is fitting for my education. I just invest in livestock like a bank. If I wanted to build, I would sell a cow in order to build. If I wanted capital, I would sell a cow in order to get that capital. I do not rear animals in order to depend on them, I rear them so that if I want to do other things later, I can do them (Maasai man, Irkiponi, primary school).

9.4 Summary

As human/livestock ratios decrease, as land becomes increasingly scarce, and as cash needs have increased, accessing money from sources other than pastoralism or farming is increasingly important for the livelihoods of Maasai in Engare Naibor. Because of the lack of opportunities available locally for younger men who do not already have wealth to invest, this typically involves engaging in occupations outside the area, most commonly through migrating to work as *askari*, or through livestock or commodity trade. Schooling has come to be seen as a way to facilitate this. Those who have managed to diversify their livelihoods in these ways often attribute what they are doing to their schooling, both to skills learnt, and to ideas encountered.

Quantitative evidence suggests that for Irkiponi men schooling has encouraged and possibly facilitated diversification into off-land occupations, although the most common activities that are being pursued are either of dubious legality or dangerous, and are often poorly paid or provide meagre profits. Young men of the Irkiponi age-set who have been to school have been discouraged by this experience from involving themselves in emurrano activities, or concentrating too much on pastoralism, and wish to ‘use the little eng’eno they have’. Many of them wish to conform to the increasingly prevalent ideas about how schooled Maasai should behave, which have been formulated through the discursive negotiations the schooling process has involved. However, these ilmurran buy livestock with the money they make. They generally see buying livestock as the most prudent way to save and invest wealth, and view owning livestock as hugely important in terms of, amongst other things, being considered wealthy and being able to pay bridewealth in order to marry.

Amongst men of the Landiis age-set schooling has encouraged and facilitated some diversification into off-land livelihood activities, namely paid employment, obtaining advantageous government posts, and investment in building. However, those who have been to school are not relatively numerous amongst those involved in livestock trading or working as *askari* at the current time. This may reflect that the social environment outside school when these men left was not conducive to the sorts of diversification possible for younger men. When men of the Landiis age-set left school there was more social pressure to engage fully in emurrano activities, and positively understood ways of ‘being schooled’ were not prevalent. As education and a schooled identity have become

increasingly valued, young men have become more receptive to the ideas about what this identity should constitute promoted through the schooling process. Unlike Steven Kiruswa, who tried to participate as fully as possible in emurrano activities whilst still continuing with his schooling and with paid employment, younger men who have been to school are increasingly rejecting emurrano and day-to-day involvement in livestock care in favour of off-land income generating activities.

Evidence presented in this chapter indicates that Maasai women in Engare Naibor have little opportunity to diversify their livelihoods, a situation which schooling has not altered.

Chapter Ten: Schooling and livelihoods

10.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will draw together evidence from Part Three, as well as a wealth ranking exercise (see 3.5.2) and data on incomes from the study by Trench and colleagues (2007), to assess the effects of schooling on Maasai livelihoods in terms of wealth and incomes.

10.2 Ideas about poverty and wealth

‘Poverty’ is a term used with bewildering ambiguity (Maxwell 1999). The relationships between schooling and poverty in pastoralist societies are potentially difficult to evaluate given the discordance between ideas held about poverty and wealth by many pastoralists and outsiders, as well as changing patterns of pastoralists’ own experiences of poverty and prosperity (Baxter & Hogg 1990, Anderson & Broch-Due 1999).

The Maasai hold a unique place in the Tanzanian imagination, and it has been argued that the Maasai are “a poverty icon in the modern state” (Talle 1999: 123). The discordance between non-pastoralist Tanzanians’ perceptions of pastoralists’ ideas about wealth and poverty, and the ideas held by wider Tanzanian society about wealth and poverty, is often commented upon. When telling people I met whilst in urban centres about my research, ideas about Maasai wealth and poverty were often expressed. Typical of these ideas, one non-Maasai woman in Dar es Salaam said of the Maasai that,

Some of them are very rich, but they still run around in loincloths (non-Maasai woman in Dar es Salaam).

Indeed, levels of poverty amongst pastoralists are often high when conventional indicators, such as levels of education and material possessions are used, but it has been argued that this at least in part reflects the different priorities of pastoralists (Randall 2006).

Ideas about poverty and wealth are in flux in Engare Naibor, and the schooling process has been one influential factor in these changing ideas. Through schooling, ideas about pastoralist poverty are promoted. Some Maasai who have been to school are consequently critical of what they view as Maasai assessments of wealth and poverty. For instance, one secondary educated man argued that,

Some people who keep lots of animals just want to be seen having many animals, but they are useless to them. They do not do anything with them, they just keep them. Those people are not rich, they just are poor (Maasai man, Irkiponi, secondary school).

In order to try to explore local ideas about poverty and wealth, and to capture the ideas of local people about the relative wealth and poverty of their peers, a wealth ranking exercise was used. This exercise was conducted as part of another research project being carried out in the area, and the ideas of people of different ages, about all ilmarei in Ngosuak, were collected. The names of all ilmarei were written on cards. A group of eight men and women of the Ilmakaa and Landiis age-sets, both those who had and had not been to school, were then asked to discuss their ideas about ‘wealth’ and ‘poverty’, and then to categorise these ilmarei according to these concepts by sorting the cards into piles. Factors contributing to ‘wealth’, as conceptualised by this group, included the sizes of herds and farms, the size and composition of the family, successful trade, business, paid employment, rights over water resources, and the ownership of modern houses.

Ilmarei were all categorised through a process of group discussion. I am interested here in evaluating the effect of schooling on the wealth of only those ilmarei headed by Landiis men, for the reason discussed in previous chapters. 42 ilmarei headed by Landiis men were categorised into nine wealth groups, although for ease of analysis I have combined these groups into ‘poor’ and ‘not poor’ ilmarei. Based on these assessments of wealth, it appears that households headed by Landiis who have been to school do tend to be wealthier, although this impact is not statistically significant (see Table 10.1). Given that when men of the Landiis age-set were children most of those who went to school were sent by force, and parents had little control over this happening, it might be reasonable to assume that these children could be considered a ‘random’ sample, and that the differences in wealth at the current time between those who went to school and those who did not are due to some aspect of the schooling process.

The education of Steven Kiruswa and the other secondary school educated Landiis man living in Ngosuak, who has a paid government position, was thought to be a non-material source of potential gain and security, and wealth in itself. In fact, those doing the ranking made a new and higher wealth category for Steven, despite his owning fewer livestock than others in the lower group. However, this view was not expressed about the education of those with only primary schooling, although whether someone had a paying job, was a particularly successful farmer, or had successfully diversified into other income generating activities was taken into account.

Table 10.1: Schooling of ilmarei head and wealth

Percentage of <u>ilmarei</u> with schooled head that were 'poor'	Percentage of <u>ilmarei</u> with unschooled head that were 'poor'	Results of chi-Square test
11/19 (57.9%)	17/23 (73.9%)	NOT SIGNIFICANT (N=42, $X^2=1.201$, $df=1$, $p=0.221$)

10.3 Schooling and incomes

Because I wanted to gain a relatively in-depth understanding of the schooling process and its outcomes, I do not have sufficiently detailed and large scale quantitative data to satisfactorily do a statistical analysis of the effect of schooling on ilmarei incomes. The data requirements to attempt such an analysis would have precluded the large numbers of semi-structured interviews which I conducted, and much of the participant observation that I engaged in. However, the preceding chapters have revealed possible causal links between the wealth of ilmarei and the schooling of their members, including the earlier uptake of farming and greater farming success, getting salaried jobs and government posts, successful trading, and investment in buildings.

Trench and colleagues (2007) have, however, collected data to determine what factors influence household incomes in six Maasai study sites in northern Tanzania, including Engare Naibor. They report that various measures of the education of adult members of households were not significant predictors of overall income (Homewood et al. 2006a). I have used these data to analyse the contributions of livestock, agriculture, and off-land income to the incomes of just those ilmarei headed by men of ages equivalent to the

Landiis age-set, excluding the two ilmarei headed by men who had been to secondary school (see Table 10.2).

Table 10.2: Schooling of ilmarei head and measures of income for Longido sample

Mean values (US\$)	Sample size	<u>Ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who went to school	<u>Ilmarei</u> headed by Landiis who did not go to school	Results of Mann-Whitney test
Gross annual income	66	751.0	507.7	NOT SIGNIFICANT. N=66, U=469.000, p=0.838
Income from livestock ¹⁶	76	440.3	330.5	NOT SIGNIFICANT. N=76, U=613.00, p=0.678
Income from agriculture	75	111.6	48.9	NOT SIGNIFICANT. N=75, U=562.000, p=0.336
Total off-land income	72	197.9	107.3	NOT SIGNIFICANT. N=72, U=470.000, p=0.427

This analysis reveals that the mean gross annual income of ilmarei headed by schooled individuals is higher than that for other ilmarei, although this difference is not statistically significant. Similarly, whilst the mean income from agriculture is higher for ilmarei headed by schooled individuals, this difference is not significant. This is in contrast to my own data from Ngosuak, suggesting that schooling has had a more profound impact on the practice of agriculture in Ngosuak than in some other Maasai areas, possibly because teachers and non-Maasai have encouraged agriculture more strongly in this area with relatively good agro-ecological conditions. The mean off-land income of ilmarei is higher for those headed by schooled men, although this difference is also not statistically significant. Income from livestock is an ambiguous indicator of the state of livelihoods as it may reflect distress sales of livestock when no alternative ways of obtaining cash are available, or it may reflect the planned harvesting of livestock in order to invest in something else. Unsurprisingly there is no significant difference in livestock income between the two groups. A more informative indicator of

¹⁶ Includes the values of animals, hides and milk sold, as well as animals slaughtered and received as gifts.

the contribution of livestock to livelihoods is herd size, which was shown in Chapter Seven to be significantly higher amongst ilmarei headed by men who had been to school (see 7.3.5).

These patterns offer some support for the conclusions drawn in the preceding chapters of Part Three. Amongst Maasai in Engare Naibor, as well as in other Maasai areas in Longido District, these data suggest that schooling has led to changes in livelihood options and choices, and to levels of success in these different activities. However, the schooling process seems to have had a greater impact on investment and success in agriculture in Engare Naibor than in other nearby Maasai areas. While schooling has influenced diversification into agriculture and off-land activities, those who have been to school still invest in pastoralism, as attested to by higher average herd sizes amongst ilmarei headed by schooled individuals.

10.4: Summary

In this chapter limited evidence that schooling has improved pastoralists' livelihoods in terms of wealth and incomes has been presented. That these differences in incomes and assessments of wealth of ilmarei headed by those who have and have not gone to school are largely not statistically significant is possibly due to small sample sizes. It could also be interpreted as testament to the nature of the schooling process, as well as conditions outside the school, whereby many children who are now members of the Landiis age-set did not acquire skills and knowledge, or did not want or were not able to employ these skills and knowledge upon leaving school.

PART FOUR: PRESENT AND FUTURE

Chapter Eleven: The policy environment and education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania

11.1 Introduction

Given the poor educational statistics for pastoralist areas, the practical challenges of education provision in these areas, and the negative schooling experiences of many pastoralists documented in this thesis, it would seem necessary for the Tanzanian government to address the provision of education for pastoralists in education policies. An examination of Tanzanian education policies and their implementation reveals that this has not been done adequately.

Much of what literature exists on education for pastoralists is insufficiently cognisant of the policy environments in which education policies are formulated or implemented. In this chapter I seek to address this lack of awareness. Through an examination of the formulation of education policies, and a comparison of the situation in Tanzania with that in neighbouring Kenya, I will reveal possible reasons why the specific problems of education provision to pastoralists have not been addressed sufficiently in Tanzanian policy.

11.2 Policy environments

Tanzanian government policies, including education policies, are affected by international discourses, often through the increasing influence of international organisations and NGOs (Buchert 1997). Key development discourses are being operationalised through a range of newly institutionalised aid-related mechanisms. It has been argued that the combination of discourse and mechanisms has enabled non-Tanzanian actors to exert a strong governing influence on the development of Tanzanian public sector policies (Kuder 2005). Through promoting widespread participation in the policy process, these mechanisms have also strengthened the voice of pastoralist interest groups. I will therefore consider these prevalent international discourses, as well as the

influence of ideas promoted by pastoralist interest groups within Tanzania, and how they have impacted on Tanzanian policy concerning education for pastoralist areas. The situation in Tanzania will be contrasted with that in Kenya to illustrate why these discursive shifts have had more of an effect in terms of policy changes in Kenya than Tanzania.

11.2.1 Education

In the 1970s the economic growth which it had previously been claimed would result from investment in education in developing countries had not materialised (Little 1992). Consequently, international interest in education waned. A major shift in ideas about the relationship between education and development which has informed international policy since then is the shift from seeing the ends of development as economic to seeing these ends as being much broader (Little 1992). The aim of development in international arenas is being increasingly viewed in terms of human development - the development of people and the development of capabilities (see Sen 1999), with education seen to be serving these goals. With these changing ideas about the goals of development in international discourse, there was a renewed international interest in the promotion of education by the end of the 1980s (Little 1992).

The World Declaration on Education For All (WCEFA 1990), formulated at the international conference in Jomtien in 1990 and endorsed by representatives of 155 governments, embraced the concept of a broad-based education that would equip young people with skills for life. The Declaration drew attention to removing educational disparities within countries. The needs of particular groups were highlighted, and nomads were specifically mentioned (WCEFA 1990, Article 3). The Declaration also encouraged 'learning through a variety of delivery systems' and the adoption of 'supplementary alternative programmes' (WCEFA 1990, Article 5). The Education for All (EFA) movement and the education targets within the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have provided an impetus for many African countries to push for Universal Primary Education (UPE), often with extensive external support. However, in practice, and as will be shown for Tanzania case, this Declaration is often cited as justification for the expansion of rigidly structured systems of primary schooling (Serpell 1999).

11.2.2 Pastoralism

Profound changes in thinking about pastoral development have taken place over the last two decades. At the centre of these changes has been the 'New Range Ecology', which has sought to demonstrate the essential environmental rationality of mobile pastoralism (see 4.2.1). This scientific trend has gone arm-in-arm with close attention to the socio-economic dimensions of pastoralism (Sandford 1983, Toulmin 1984, Swift 1988). There has been a questioning of many of the policies most associated with previous understandings of pastoralist ecology, including sedentarisation, and an increasing concern about the political and economic marginalisation of pastoralists.

These alternative understandings have been taken on board to some extent by donors (Pratt et al. 1997, de Haan et al. 1997, cited in Morton 2005). For example, The UNDP and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) have launched a major network – the World Initiative for Sustainable Pastoralism (WISP) - aimed at promoting the sustainable management of pastoral lands (IUCN electronic reference). The UNDP sees

Pastoralism [as] one of the key production systems in the world's drylands. Mobile pastoralists, consisting of nomads and transhumants, are a large and significant minority around the world. In many cases, they are poorly understood and subject to an unusually large number of myths and misunderstandings. These have led to inadequate, often hostile, development policies and major barriers to sustainable land management (UNDP electronic citation).

These ideas, however well-established among researchers, NGOs, and to an extent in donor agencies, have filtered through to African governments much more slowly and unevenly. Reasons for this include the time it takes any new thinking to be incorporated into policy, and the very deep issues regarding the marginality of pastoralism and pastoralists in the cultures and politics of African states (Morton 2005). Further, it cannot be assumed that the new thinking is universally applicable across Africa. There has been something of a scientific backlash against the 'New Range Ecology' (for example see Illius & O'Connor 1999) and some of its scientific supporters are careful to point out that it is far more relevant in arid than in semi-arid rangelands (Ellis 1995). There is also a debate to be had on whether the new thinking on pastoralism has adequately included the desire of pastoralists themselves to diversify, access services,

and generally "modernise" (Livingstone 2005). In short, the intellectual basis of ideas about pastoral ecology and development must still be regarded as in flux, which increases the complexity of the processes by which they are incorporated into development policy and practice.

Donors have compelled recipient countries with large numbers of pastoralists to take on board these changing ideas, in particular putting pressure on governments to focus more on pastoralist issues in their Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). PRSPs are the instruments now used by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to enable developing countries to qualify for debt relief under the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative. For instance, in 2000, the UNDP reviewed PRSPs for countries with large areas of ASAL, including Kenya and Tanzania, to evaluate the extent to which they address environmental issues (UNDP electronic citation). This review found that little attention was paid to drylands, or environmental and natural resource management issues. One of the aims of the Oxfam GB East Africa Regional Pastoral Programme (EARPP), which was implemented in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda between 1998 and 2001, was to create a favourable policy context and to increase institutional responsiveness to pastoralists' needs. Pressure has also been exerted on governments through international organisations providing money for a proliferation of local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with an interest in pastoralist affairs. For example, Oxfam GB worked with others to help to establish the Pastoralist Thematic Group (PTG), an umbrella organisations of pastoralist interest groups in Kenya, to ensure that pastoralist issues were more adequately included in Kenya's first full PRSP. This support has led to increasing civil society pressure on governments to consider pastoralists' agendas, which has been relatively effective due to donor insistence on broad-based participation and involvement of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the PRS process (see URT 2005c). These factors have led governments in states with pastoralist populations to show, to varying degrees, increasing concern for the merits of pastoralism and for the plight of pastoralists. Moreover, if countries are to make progress on achieving the MDGs, it is recognised that attention will have to be paid to pastoralist areas, which have a high incidence of 'poverty' (as defined in the MDGs), including low levels of educational participation and attainment.

The initial PRSP from Tanzania (URT 2000) had very few references to livestock, and none to pastoralism as a livelihood. This neglect was also evident in other earlier policy documents. Where pastoralism or livestock were mentioned this tended to paint a negative picture and was generally in the context of the need to improve the livestock industry, rather than concern over the situation of pastoralists. More recently pastoralism has begun to be seen, at least in policy documents, as a significant issue. Hakikazi, a Tanzanian NGO, claims that pastoralism is mentioned in the Tanzanian National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty 2005 (NSGRP) due to targeted advocacy by pastoral groups during the 2004 PRS Review, and to pastoralist input in the Tanzanian Participatory Poverty Assessment (Hakikazi 2005). These later policy documents may also reflect the changes in international development discourse discussed above. Importantly the NSGRP refers to the necessity of “recognizing pastoralism as **sustainable livelihood**” (URT 2005d: 38, emphasis mine).

However, other policies do not seem to view pastoralism in this way. The NSGRP was followed by a draft National Livestock Policy (URT 2005a) which it has been argued is “anti-pastoralism and wishes it away” (Mattee & Shem 2006: 17). It has also been argued that insufficient time was allocated for wide consultation with stakeholders (Mattee & Shem 2006). Another policy, the Rural Development Strategy (RDS), while obviously engaging with the rhetoric adopted by donors and pastoralist advocates concerning pastoralism, clearly aims at reducing pastoralist mobility and therefore the sustainability of pastoralism (URT 2001a). The RDS states that:

... due to spatial and temporal distribution of vegetation, pastoralists have to continuously move in search of good grazing grounds and water. Mobility is therefore a cardinal strategy for the pastoralist to mitigate against fluctuations of climate, periodic droughts and erratic rainfall. However, although there are valid driving forces towards their movements, pastoralists do more harm to overall economy than better due to continuous mobility (URT 2001a: 32).

Tanzanian politicians, including the President, have not taken up the ‘New Range Ecology’. In his inaugural speech to parliament on 30th December 2005, President Kikwete said that,

We will take deliberate measures to improve the livestock sector. Our people must change from being nomadic cattle herders to being modern livestock keepers (cited in Mattee & Shem 2006).

In contrast, despite few references to pastoralism in Kenya's initial PRSP (GOK 2000), the shift towards seeing pastoralism as a significant issue has been incorporated to a much greater degree in Kenya's Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007 (the most recent Kenyan PRSP), which devotes a chapter to Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (GOK 2003). Kenya has also drafted an ASAL policy, and has set out an ASAL Programme which aims to cater to these areas which have traditionally been a low priority in public resource allocation and programs (GOK 2004). The increasing focus on pastoralist issues in Kenyan policies can be attributed to the efforts of relatively influential pastoralist interest groups, supported by international organisations, in the Kenyan PRSP process (Abkula 2002). Kenya has a Pastoralist Parliamentary Group (PPG), which alongside civil society organisations, is continuing to raise awareness of pastoral issues (see Box 11.1).

Box 11.1 The Kenyan Pastoralist Parliamentary Group

The Kenyan PPG represents a coming together of two currents; an informal grouping of ethnic Somali MPs from the North-eastern Province in 1996-97, leading to a short-lived political party, and vigorously opposed by the Moi government; and the activities of the Kenya Pastoralist Forum (KPF) as an umbrella organisation for NGOs working with pastoralists, itself subject to government harassment. By 1998, the KPF had encouraged a broader grouping of pastoral MPs to form across ethnic boundaries, which became formalised as the Pastoralist Parliamentary Group, and entered into contact with international NGOs, notably through a meeting organised by the Minority Rights Group. However, the PPG continued to suffer government harassment (Markakis 1999), and gradually became quiescent, until it was revived following the 2003 elections and change of government.

Paraphrased from Morton (2005)

11.3 Education policy and pastoralism

Previously, as has been shown to be the case in Tanzania, the tendency was for governments to largely ignore the special challenges posed by the pastoralist way of life for educational provision and to expect these societies to change in order to access

education. The shifts in international development discourse described above, if taken into account in policy for education provision in pastoralist areas, would necessitate tailoring such provision so that pastoralists could more easily access education and achieve higher levels of attainment, and ensuring that the schooling process were supportive of pastoralists' ways of life and aspirations.

Changing international discourse concerning pastoralism and education has been resisted and re-formulated by national governments, and has influenced current policies for education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania and Kenya to different extents. I will consider the differences between Kenya and Tanzania further later on. It is worth noting here that civil society is weaker and less tolerated in Tanzania than it is in Kenya. For example, since late 2005 the Tanzanian government had prohibited or constrained HakiElimu (a CSO campaigning for educational rights) from undertaking or publishing research on schools, developing and broadcasting media spots and educational films, distributing publications to schools and representing civil society in education dialogue forums with Government (HakiElimu electronic citation), although in February 2007 the government agreed to take legal measures to remove bans placed on HakiElimu so that the CSO could continue its work (HakiElimu electronic citation). In the Tanzanian Participatory Poverty Assessment (TZPPA) exercise, participation was, according to CSOs, not satisfactory (AFRODAD 2002, Evans & Ngalewa 2003).

11.3.1 Policy responses in Tanzania

Tanzania is currently making progress towards achieving the goal of UPE as a result of the decision to drop primary school fees in 2001 and the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) in July 2002 (URT 2001c), partly financed through savings made as a result of qualification for debt relief in accordance with the HIPC Initiative. PEDP aimed at the rapid expansion of primary education, with the objective of enrolling all 7-10 years olds by 2005. It called for the expansion of infrastructure, equipment, and staff capacity. However, current education policies in Tanzania have little to offer in terms of policies specifically formulated for Tanzania's pastoral communities. In Tanzania neither the PEDP nor any other government education policy documents have included any special policy provisions for, nor any real recognition of, the unique challenges of providing education in pastoralist areas.

This omission is consistent with the lack of attention, discussed above, received by pastoralism as a livelihood in other sectors.

The Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) (URT 2001b) does at least recognise that there are challenges in delivering educational services to “pastoralists” and “nomadic and semi-nomadic communities”, as this extract from the document illustrates.

Component 1.2.4 Increasing Enrolment of Children from disadvantaged Communities

Rationale

The Education and Training Policy (1995) states that the government shall guarantee access to basic education to all citizens as is a basic human right. Tanzania however is a heterogeneous society with more than 100 ethnic groupings with differing social, economic and cultural environments. Communities of hunters, fishermen, pastoralists and gatherers have life styles that impede them from getting education. If left un-attended, these communities will continue to be disadvantaged and will lag behind in getting education. These communities need special consideration by the Government to help promote enrolment into primary schools.

Objectives

To promote access to basic education to disadvantaged communities i.e nomads, gatherers, fishing groups and hunters

Activities

- (i) Identify districts with Special Enrolment needs
- (ii) Conduct and/or Use School Mapping results to identify needs of the groups e.g Nomadic, fishing etc.
- (iii) Prepare specific district plan for expansion of enrolment
- (iv) Design programme based on findings for expansion of enrolment
- (v) Sensitize the community on need to enrol their children and enforcing attendance
- (vi) Construct needed facilities to increase the enrolment
- (vii) Identify premises to be used as temporary classrooms
- (viii) Implement the programme for each group
- (ix) Monitor and evaluate

Targets (i) Needs assessment conducted by Mid 2001

- (ii) Programme design by December 2001
- (iii) Districts plans produced and disseminated by January 2002
- (iv) Teaching/learning premises established by February 2003
- (v) Monitoring and evaluation conducted annually.

(URT, 2001: 32)

However, the BEMP is not at all specific about the steps to be taken, and no policy documents addressing the issue of educational provision to pastoralists have been produced. The Ministry of Education and Culture has conducted “research pertaining to the education needs and interests of the pastoral and mobile communities” (Bugeke 1997: 78), and this may have influenced the development of the Complimentary Basic Education and Training (COBET) Programme discussed below. Monduli District Council has also conducted research with the support of SNV, the Netherlands Development Organisation, and has produced a report entitled ‘The Study on the Cause of Poor School Enrolment, Attendance and Completion in Monduli District - Field Work Executive Summary’ (Lyimo 2003). This report did demonstrate an awareness of many of the issues involved in providing education for pastoralists. It also came up with a very long list of recommendations, some of which are quoted below.

- Sensitize parents to value education for their children
- Put Maasai children in boarding school to avoid parents’ interference and provide them with all basic services.
- Establish more boarding schools in remote areas
- Introduce mobile schools
- Make timing of school terms to fit with migration period
- Empower Maasai community to create income alternatives other than dependency on cattle
- Postpone the age of circumcision until children complete standard seven
- Facilitate the community and the school administration to develop good relations through mutual understanding of the local realities. Teachers are supposed to understand the realities of the local people and cope with them. Likewise the community should be conversant with national policies
- Facilitate school administration to ensure enough community participation
- Improve the inspectorate by providing transport and allowance

- Motivate teachers by providing them with basic services and needs – living houses, transport such as motorcycles, water at school and so on.
- Revise the teaching and learning methodologies – make it more relevant to Maasai community
- The district council should direct their efforts in establishment of pre schools in remote areas. It should not attach them to primary schools only as it is stipulated in national policies but rather split them into sub villages. Together with that it must recruit and train more teachers and pay them salary

(Lyimo 2003)

This list of recommendations is problematically contradictory. Avoiding parental ‘interference’ is advocated as well as the promotion of ‘community participation’. Unsurprisingly, given the contradictory agendas and discourses apparent in this report, possibly resulting from collaboration between an international NGO and the Tanzanian government, no policy changes have yet resulted. Various NGOs are currently working on educational interventions in pastoralist areas, but none of these have yet been supported or institutionalised by the Tanzanian government.

11.3.2 Policy responses in Kenya

Whilst the special challenges of providing education to pastoralists were largely ignored in the past, the Kenyan government has recently displayed, at least in terms of policies, a willingness to diverge from conventional formal schooling and adapt education provision to the needs of pastoralists by devising modes of delivery specifically for them. One document produced for the Kenyan government stated that,

It is evident today that formal education cannot in its present form reach to every child in the nation by 2015. It is widely acknowledged that new modes of educational delivery must be designed to attain this goal (Obura 2002: 1).

The National Commission for the Education of Pastoralist and Nomadic Communities was set up, with the mission to,

give special impetus in pastoralist and nomadic communities to achieving the goals of EFA, giving all members of these communities access to lifelong education (Obura 2002: 9).

The Kenyan government's Arid Lands Resource Management Project (ALRMP) is funded by the World Bank. It is regarded by the NGO community as being much more dynamic and proactive than normal government agencies (Randall, S. personal communication, December 2006). Their website sets out the project's goals with regard to education,

The project will complement existing government and partner initiatives to provide at least basic education to the population in the arid lands. Recognizing that education is a particular challenge in nomadic pastoral communities, who do not reside in the same area all year around, and in view of ALRMP's comparative advantage in working with mobile communities, the project will pay particular attention to strengthening the delivery of mobile education in line with the GOK Concept Paper on the Education of Pastoralist and Nomadic Communities. The project will finance curriculum development for mobile schools, a study on migratory patterns to formulate appropriate mobile and fixed education delivery approaches, and the design and implementation of a mobile schooling pilot in three arid districts. The project proposals and approaches will build upon the experience of existing small scale pilots operating in some of the project districts and adjust these models to allow the government to reach broader coverage (GOK electronic citation).

The Kenyan government's latest PRSP states that in ASALs "the objective is to start closing the gap with the rest of the country by developing a creative schooling program for pastoralist children" (GOK 2003: 59). It has yet to be seen how these plans will be implemented in Kenya, and with what success, but the shift in terms of policies is in itself significant.

This shift in Kenyan policies has been influenced by groups promoting the agendas of pastoralists, including the World Bank funded ALRMP. For example, a major achievement of the Pastoralist Parliamentary Group was its successful lobbying for a budgetary allocation for boarding schools in pastoral areas as a specific part of the

NARC government's Universal Primary Education strategy (Livingstone 2005). NGOs have also lobbied the national government to focus on education for pastoralists in Kenya. For example, Oxfam has been working on improving provision of education for pastoralists. They have brought district education actors together to develop, link and implement long term education strategies with the Government. Through their support to the Coalition of Pastoralist Children's Education, they have been helping them lobby for the establishment of a National Commission for Pastoralist Education. They have also been supporting alternative forms of provision of basic education such as mobile schools, feeder schools, and boarding schools (Oxfam electronic citation).

11.4 Current practice in Tanzania

The special challenges for educational service provision in pastoralist areas are not adequately addressed in Tanzania's education policy. I will now consider the ways in which current education policies which might have tackled some of these challenges are being implemented in pastoralist areas.

11.4.1 COBET Programme

What the mentions of pastoralists and other "disadvantaged communities" in policy documents have influenced is the development of the Complimentary Basic Education and Training (COBET) programme by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) in collaboration with UNICEF. PEDP set out plans for this non-formal education to cater for out-of school youth, including "nomadic Communities, street children, disabled, orphans and out of reach" (United Republic of Tanzania 2003). It is not a specific programme to meet the challenges of providing education to pastoralists.

COBET students are supposed to study a different curriculum, but one designed to allow them to take the examinations taken by children in mainstream education at the end of Standards 4 and 8, and to enter the formal system if successful. PEDP states that "the guiding principle in these education initiatives will be that every effort will be made to induct children into the mainstream, formal provision. This means that the strategies for the complementary education programmes are designed for the short-to-medium term only" (URT 2001c: 8). Nonetheless, the COBET programme with its more flexible timetable, shorter duration, and no requirement to wear a uniform, could

have gone some way to **temporarily** removing some of the barriers which prevent pastoralist children from participating in education. However, in practice the COBET programme has not been functioning in Engare Naibor.

In each primary school in Engare Naibor there were two appointed COBET teachers. This pair consisted of a qualified primary school teacher already working in the school and a villager who had completed Standard Seven who was paid to teach COBET, although the participation of these villagers decreased and stopped over the study period due to unpaid salaries. In all schools there was a good degree of knowledge about how the scheme should function. The COBET teachers had all attended training seminars, and were aware of the COBET policies. However, the programme was not working as it should have been in any of the schools. In only two of the schools was it claimed that COBET students were attending, and even in these schools they were not being taught separately. Although special COBET teaching resources were available in all the schools, they were not being used. Teachers explained this with reference to the COBET syllabus not preparing candidates well enough for national examinations. There was an apparent lack of understanding of the aims of COBET within the communities, and where COBET students were said to be attending, their attendance was reported to be poor. The lack of implementation of COBET could also be attributed to a lack of motivation amongst teachers and a lack of inspection by district officials.

The Tanzanian government has in fact acknowledged that COBET does not have a high priority in district education plans with district officers because of insufficient funding (URT 2004: 50). In Engare Naibor COBET has been used to push out-of-school children through the formal school system, or has not functioned at all.

11.4.2 Boarding schools

Other than this non-formal education programme, the other significant attempt by the Tanzanian government to meet the challenges of providing educational services to pastoralists has been the setting up and running of boarding schools in pastoralist areas, with the aim of allowing pastoralist children to attend school while their families migrate with their livestock. Some of these schools have been in existence since the colonial period, and others have been built more recently. In Monduli District there are currently five primary boarding schools which serve a very small minority of children.

On one occasion when I was able to question politicians about education provision for pastoralists, they referred to the provision of boarding schools. However, students attending boarding schools are only 6% of the total primary school enrolment in the District. Of these, the number of pastoralist children is very low since many non-pastoralist children are enrolled in the boarding schools (CORDS electronic citation) where educational quality is relatively high. Longido Primary School, for example, reportedly has only 200 (28.2%) “nomadic” children out of 708 pupils (Mwegio & Mlekwa 2001: 37), although it is unclear what is meant by “nomadic” in this document. These schools had been fully funded by the government, but from 1997 parents were required to contribute towards the expenses. Parents now pay 20,000 TSh per year per child. This is an unaffordable sum for many pastoralist parents in Engare Naibor. Moreover, it is difficult to get a place in these over-subscribed schools, and the general perception in the area is that a place can only be obtained by those with some degree of power and influence in Longido town where the nearest boarding school is located. There have been plans to create more primary boarding facilities in the area. However, with PEDP these plans are thought to have been sidelined, and more static day schools have been built in areas remote from existing schools.

11.4.3 Decentralisation of education provision

Another national level policy shift which has affected pastoralist areas is the decentralisation of education provision. PEDP was set within Tanzania’s broader decentralisation framework, which is supported by donors (for example see World Bank electronic citation) who view it as a way to achieve better governance of education systems. The current decentralisation agenda for education in Tanzania puts more of the onus for the running of schools on local communities. The stated rationale for this shift is that of “broadening democratic participation and accountability” (URT 2001c). Village level school committees were accordingly to be empowered to be responsible for the management and development of schools.

School committees in Engare Naibor’s schools were made up of teachers and local residents who were Standard Seven leavers. Five days of training were provided in 2005 for all school committee members by district education officials. Members of these committees have understood their duties as:

- mobilising people to send children to school
- mobilising people about school development
- being involved in the management of the school budget
- being involved in the making and implementation of plans for building school buildings
- monitoring the teaching which occurs in schools

However, in practice in Engare Naibor the school committees which are supposed to take on many new responsibilities for the running of schools are ill-equipped to do so. Many members have poor literacy and numeracy skills. In such a context, parents on school committees cannot demand accountability. The increased responsibility of school committees has, according to parents and teachers in the study area, not led to any significant dialogue between parents and schools, probably related to Maasai lack of engagement with schools. According to one educated local Maasai man, “because [the school] is a government thing, people just leave it alone”. Given the history of schooling being imposed by outside forces, schools are seen by local Maasai as outside institutions, beyond their influence or control. Moreover, many parents are intimidated by the school environment, where they do not know how to communicate, and report hostile receptions from teachers.

Decentralisation of the education system in contexts such as these carries further risks. When central government devolves the financing of education to district level in pastoralist zones, the ability of local government to raise revenue for schooling through taxation is weak. The result is that communities have to bear a heavy financial responsibility to ensure that schools function (Oxfam 2005), a responsibility that is not being met in Engare Naibor, where plans to expand school infrastructure remain unrealised because of a lack of local fund-raising success. A local teacher expressed his concern over the decreasing amount of responsibility the government was taking over the funding of education as a result of these de-centralisation policies.

The problem is that the residents must participate first, then the government will do its part. So if a person does not know the importance of education, and you tell him to build a teacher's house or a classroom, to do his part, will he really do it even though he does not want to? So the government should intervene to the end (Non-Maasai teacher).

At the same time as higher levels of government are devolving responsibilities, they are not fulfilling those that they retain. For example, I heard complaints that schools in the study area were not inspected as frequently as is required, due to their remoteness and lack of transportation available to inspectors.

11.5 The ideas of those implementing education policies

The opinions of teachers and others involved in the running of schools in Engare Naibor about whether there ought to be special education policies in pastoralist areas provide an ethnographically informed perspective on the discourses prevalent in Tanzania which influence not only those implementing education policies, but those formulating them. The ideas of teachers and policy makers are influenced by national discourses on *ukabila*. Teachers talk about,

Mwalimu Nyerere's principle of having no *ukabila* in Tanzania, living together, helping each other, and trusting each other (Non-Maasai teacher)

What *ukabila* is understood to mean within this national discourse was explained by another teacher,

Every person has his ethnic group, and his mother tongue. For that reason a person should not have the idea of discrimination. For example a Maasai should not say I am supposed to help my fellow Maasai, or my fellow Rangi. That is something that is not desirable. What we are supposed to build is unity. I think Nyerere once said, 'Don't ask me which ethnic group I am from so that you can help me. Just help me as your fellow Tanzanian'. That is why we are insisting on one language. That is why we are using one language, in order to reduce *ukabila* (Non-Maasai teacher).

According to the understandings which teachers made explicit, *ukabila* means ethnic discrimination. However, as was argued in Chapter Five, in practice combating *ukabila* involves not only combating ethnic discrimination, but also combating ethnic identities. Many of the discursive practices of schooling in which teachers are involved in Engare Naibor are structured around ethnic categorisations. Non-Maasai in Engare Naibor understand schooling to an extent to be about reducing 'Maasainess', the powerful ethnic identity which they view as promoting hostility towards them, and which is not compatible with development as they conceive it. These non-Maasai, including teachers, employ the powerful national discourse surrounding *ukabila* to promote this

agenda. Teachers do not express this in such terms, but it is apparent from other things they do and say. They understand that this agenda of combating ‘Maasainess’ cannot be forwarded too overtly because it contradicts explicit understandings of the idea of combating *ukabila*, although not what this actually means in practice. This unwillingness to make this agenda explicit became apparent when teachers objected to my using the word ‘Maasai’ as much as I was. I was initially puzzled by this given the extent to which this word was used by teachers themselves in schools and by non-Maasai in Engare Naibor in general. One teacher became annoyed with me and said that she, “was sent by the Tanzanian government to teach Tanzanian children, not Maasai”.

I asked the head of the Engare Naibor Primary School committee, a non-Maasai man who was an early in-migrant to Engare Naibor, what is taught about pastoralism in school. The word for pastoralism in KiSwahili (*ufugaji*) literally translates as ‘rearing’, and to mean livestock pastoralism, it would technically be necessary to say ‘rearing of cows’ (*ufugaji wa ng’ombe*). His reply was informative of the explicit denial of the ethnic specificity of the Engare Naibor context. He replied,

Yes, I know, because we have tried to promote better rearing (*ufugaji bora*), especially chicken and fish, we should get a pond. We had a plan in the past, at the school grounds, but it has never been done (non-Maasai head of the Engare Naibor Primary School committee).

This was apparently a plan conceived by the school committee. I then asked whether he knew if anything is taught about livestock pastoralism. He replied that “those topics are not yet there”. However, after a discussion about schooling and crop cultivation, he was willing to detail what the school teaches about livestock pastoralism. What is interesting in this encounter is that he did not want to focus on uniquely Maasai issues, and when asked about *ufugaji* in the Engare Naibor context, where the meaning I was trying to convey cannot have escaped him, his talking about a fishery can be interpreted as an attempt to deny and reduce the predominance of pastoralist issues both in the school and in Mairoua more generally.

The common opinion amongst teachers in Engare Naibor that there should not be special education policies in pastoralist areas is informed by these local elaborations and re-interpretations on the national discourse surrounding *ukabila*.

If we say they should have their own policies, we have not eliminated *ukabila* (Non-Maasai teacher).

I say there should not be [special policies] because we would be putting people into classes. People with these problems [of low rates of education] include the Hadzabe who are lower than the Maasai. So you would make a policy suitable for them, and another one for the Maasai, and another one for Rangi. Can't you see that you are constructing classes for them? There should be only one policy (Non-Maasai teacher).

Teachers refer to the powerful national discourse surrounding *ukabila* to justify their desire not to see special education policies for pastoralists, and not to see ethnic categorisations emphasised, whereas in day to day interactions they themselves often emphasise such categorisations. Pervasive discrimination against pastoralists is being reinforced by the non-legitimacy of overtly voicing ethnicity related issues in Tanzania¹⁷.

11.6 Explanations for the Tanzanian government's reluctance to formulate specific policies for education in pastoralist areas

Current education policy in Tanzania has little to offer in terms of policies specifically formulated for Tanzania's pastoral communities. It is insufficiently recognised in Tanzanian education policies that these areas have distinct challenges, over and above those faced by the sector as a whole. Donor funding has been used by Tanzanian policy makers for the expansion of a rigidly structured system of conventional primary schooling. This is illustrated by the way COBET has been employed in practice, and the sidelining of plans for boarding facilities by PEDP. In contrast, the Kenyan government has expressed a desire to adapt educational service provision to meet the needs of pastoralists. Other states in the region have shown similar willingness. For instance, the Pastoral Affairs Standing Committee in Ethiopia, created in 2002, has managed to work with the Ministry of Education on the development of mobile education systems (Mussa 2004). In Uganda, the ABEK programme, which was developed by Save the Children Norway in close collaboration with the Ugandan government, has begun to receive some financial support from the government. I will now consider why the Tanzanian government has been relatively unwilling to develop special provision for pastoralist areas.

¹⁷ For a discussion of a similar phenomenon in Botswana, see Hitchcock (2002), Webner (2002), and other articles in the same issue of the Journal of Southern African Studies.

In the current global development policy environment, pastoralism is receiving more attention, and is increasingly viewed as a potentially sustainable livelihood, rather than a way of life whose time has passed. This shift in thinking has been incorporated to a greater degree in Kenyan than Tanzanian policy. This difference between the countries is evident both in policies concerning pastoralism in general and education provision for pastoralists in particular. This difference is related to the Tanzanian government's agenda with respect to pastoralism, which is in reality not supportive of pastoralism, partly as a result of the relative lack of influence pastoralists and advocates for pastoralist issues have in the policy process in Tanzania. Pastoralists in Tanzania are less able to successfully advocate for change in terms of policies or the implementation of policies compared to those in Kenya. In Kenya, pastoralist voices have been relatively effective in influencing the policy process, helped by direct donor support and by new aid-related mechanisms, and the Kenyan government has been relatively responsive. This is arguably due to the different political environment in Tanzania, where the political process is rather 'top-down', a remnant of the Socialist regime.

This difference between the two countries is also influenced by the powerful national discourse apparent in Tanzania surrounding *ukabila*. Statements such as 'there is no *ukabila* in Tanzania' are frequently heard. Tanzanian policy makers are consequently unwilling to make policy on ethnic lines because this would involve *ukabila* – not just in terms of possible discrimination, but also because it would help to maintain ethnic identities. Nations around the world, and in different periods, have dealt with ethnic diversity in different ways. The divergence in the way Kenya and Tanzania have dealt with diversity can in part be attributed to the personalities and philosophies of the respective independence leaders, Jomo Kenyatta (and later Moi) and Julius Nyerere (Miguel 2004). Nyerere forcefully downplayed the role of ethnic affiliation in public life and instead emphasized a single Tanzanian national identity. In Kenya things could not have been more different. Kenyatta and Moi are perceived within Kenya as "tribalists," political opportunists who thrived on the politics of ethnic division (Miguel 2004).

11.7 Summary

In Tanzania education policies do not adequately tackle the challenges of education provision in pastoralist areas. This is related to the political context in Tanzania, in

particular the relative lack of influence of civil society and NGOs, and national discourses surrounding pastoralism, education and ethnic difference.

Chapter Twelve: Conclusion

12.1 Introduction

The pressures on traditional East African pastoralism as a way of life and as a production system are increasing. There is also renewed interest from governments, NGOs, and donors in getting pastoralists into formal education, and rising demand for education amongst many pastoralists. For these reasons it is increasingly important to examine critically the schooling process in pastoralist areas. Previous research on education amongst pastoralists has concentrated mainly on the reasons for their comparatively low rates of enrolment and attainment, in order to be able to suggest ways to increase these rates. My ethnographic approach to the study of schooling has involved, as advocated by Street, an “attempt to understand ‘what’s going on’ before pronouncing on how to improve it” (Street 2001: 2).

This thesis has elucidated some of the problems surrounding education provision for pastoralists, as seen by different actors, and the difficulties pastoralists face in accessing education. However, it has not been my aim to provide recommendations for how to improve education provision for pastoralists. I have tried not to make assumptions about what education in pastoralist areas should do, or to propose solutions for how this should be achieved. Rather, I aimed to understand what schooling has done in the recent past, and is doing now, and to elucidate how and why this is happening. In this way I hope that this thesis can inform and stimulate current debate amongst those who are involved in and affected by education provision for pastoralists, especially pastoralists themselves, surrounding the future of this provision.

In this study I have evaluated the nature of the schooling process in Engare Naibor, a predominantly Maasai area in Tanzania, and how it has affected pastoralists’ livelihoods. I have done so both through the collection of quantitative data on certain aspects of livelihoods, and through using qualitative methods to explore the ways in which schooling has influenced livelihood constraints, opportunities, decisions, and success.

I have built on anthropological theory to demonstrate the ways discourses which have informed the schooling process have been resisted, co-opted and reworked at the local level by different actors with their own agendas (Long & Long 1992, Arce & Long 1999). I have also built on work by other researchers documenting the various social ends to which local actors have employed education (Varvus 2003, Stambach 2000, Serpell 1993). I have demonstrated the importance of understanding the meanings the different actors involved in the schooling process confer on development, and their views of schooling's role in that development, for making sense of the ways they have reacted to and used schooling towards their own ends. Schools have been revealed to be powerful social institutions around which ideas about what a modern Maasai should be, and the future of pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life have been formulated, contested, and negotiated.

12.2 Thesis limitations

Before considering the contribution this thesis has made further, it is important to reflect on its limitations.

Pastoralist contexts are diverse, and conclusions drawn from this small-scale study of one area should be generalised to the rest of Tanzania and beyond with caution. The theoretical stance taken in this study acknowledges that schooling and its consequences vary with the practices of which it is composed and the social and cultural context in which it is embedded. More studies of schooling and its consequences in different pastoralist areas are therefore called for. Further studies could help to answer questions such as the extent to which the schooling process has promoted the expansion of cultivation in other pastoralist areas in Tanzania, and whether having more pastoralist teachers in Maasai areas of Kenya has influenced the discursive negotiations surrounding schooling.

In combining quantitative and qualitative methodology my analysis has benefited from drawing on and triangulating different types of data. However, because of the time constraints on this research, using multiple approaches has limited the degree to which I have been able to utilise each one. Larger scale quantitative data collection would have facilitated the drawing of firmer conclusions through increasing sample sizes, and would have enabled the generalisation of findings to a wider geographical area. More

in-depth use of ethnographic methods with children would have provided a more detailed picture of how the learning of ideas about pastoralism and pastoralist livelihoods actually occurs through the schooling process. Whilst I have attempted in this thesis to understand how such learning occurs, work on the anthropology of education and learning suggests the sort of insights that more detailed research might yield. For example, Froerer (2007) observed how nationalist rhetoric was translated and implemented in pedagogical terms in certain schools in India, and how this was received and interpreted by children. She accomplished this through extensive observation of what went on in one school, and interviewing children to see how they had interpreted this teaching.

There are certain issues which I have not addressed in this thesis, or have not discussed extensively. I have only briefly discussed the influence of schooling on the livelihoods of Maasai women, despite the availability of inspiring work by other authors who have analysed the effects of various transformations within pastoralist, and in particular Maasai societies, on women and gender relations (Hodgson 2005, Hodgson 1999b, Hodgson 1995, Talle 1988, Talle 1987, Brockington 2001, Kipury 1989). I have focussed in this thesis on the economic livelihood outcomes of schooling, rather than on others such as health and demographic outcomes which have been the subject of much research on the consequences of education in other developing country contexts (for example, see Bledsoe et al. 1999, Jeffery & Basu 1996). Maasai women in Engare Naibor do not on the whole feel that their schooling has greatly influenced their economic livelihoods, and my quantitative data attest to this assessment. I have considered why this is the case, but further research could more thoroughly elucidate the reasons for this lack of impact.

It has often been suggested that schooled pastoralists could act as community leaders, protecting their people from economic, political and social encroachment (for example, see Rigby 1985). The consideration of the nature of the schooling process in this thesis has called into question whether this is likely to happen. Are those who have been through this process equipped to fulfil this role, or will the negative understandings of extensive pastoralism which they have encountered through their schooling experience prevent them from doing so? These questions are somewhat beyond the scope of this thesis, but are nonetheless important. In fact, recognition that pastoralists who act as advocates for pastoralist issues, and who are likely to be products of the education

system themselves, may not be equipped to argue for the rationality of pastoralism as a system has already inspired NGO projects which aim to promote positive understandings of extensive pastoralism both amongst non-pastoralist policy makers and pastoralist leaders (see Hesse & Ochieng Odhiambo 2006).

12.3 The nature of the schooling process

My first aim in this thesis was to elucidate the nature of the schooling process in Engare Naibor. This process has involved a large number of children going to school since the 1970s, with consequences for their families, including implications for labour and mobility, and increased demands for cash. It has involved children spending time in the environments that surround schools, and spending less time engaged in the activities undertaken by children not at school. Children who have been to school have acquired certain skills and knowledge to varying extents, such as the ability to speak KiSwahili, to read and write, and to negotiate non-Maasai environments. They have had less opportunity to acquire other knowledge and abilities, for example in relation to herding.

The schooling process in Engare Naibor has involved discursive negotiations between teachers and pupils, between school-children and non-Maasai in Mairoua trading centre, and between schooled individuals and their families and peers. These negotiations have included the reactions of those at home, and of peers, to children who have gone to school, and the way those who have been to school have presented themselves to other people. They have involved teachers actively trying to teach children certain things, and children taking-up or resisting these ideas. They have also involved more informal teaching and learning whilst in and around schools.

The nature of the education services provided in pastoralist areas in Tanzania has been informed by discourses of pastoral development which are not supportive of extensive pastoralism or the pastoralist way of life, as well as by practical and financial constraints on the Tanzanian state, and by other influences including socialist ideology. A lack of recognition of the importance of mobility for successful pastoralism, informed by prevalent understandings of pastoralist ecology, as well as villagisation policies, has meant that pastoralist mobility has not been accommodated by those formulating education policies and schools have therefore been static. Ideas about pastoralism and pastoralists common amongst those formulating the school curriculum and producing

teaching resources have meant that not only has little attention been paid to teaching children about pastoralism, but that pastoralism and pastoralists have been presented very negatively. These ideas about pastoralism, as well as self-reliance ideology, have meant that agriculture has been taught both in the classroom as well as practically on school-farms.

Teachers have deliberately and inadvertently taught and exposed their pupils to values, attitudes and ideas not found in the curriculum. This 'hidden curriculum' has included the promotion of negative understandings of pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life. Teachers have also, through their reactions to pupils and parents, made schools into culturally antagonistic environments, and this has affected Maasai responses to schooling.

The schooling process in Engare Naibor has been influenced by the in-migration of non-pastoralist teachers and others from elsewhere, and schooling has greatly increased the degree to which Maasai and non-Maasai interact. Experience in the multi-ethnic environments which surround and include schools, and exposure to the ways of life of in-migrants, and their ideas about what development ought to be, and how schooled individuals ought to act, has been an important part of the schooling process. These ideas have reflected state ideology, but non-Maasai in-migrants have re-configured these ideas according to their own understandings and towards their own ends. The 'Swahili' discourse, which has been formulated by these in-migrants in response to perceptions of the Maasai and their way of life, has been critical of many aspects of extensive pastoralism and this lifestyle, and also the maintenance of a strong Maasai ethnic identity. Many of the relationships formed by Maasai children during their years at school with non-Maasai have been enduring, and these non-Maasai have continued to exert an influence on their actions. Elsewhere in the region schooling for pastoralists has involved similar processes, through which pastoralist children who are often relatively isolated by physical and social barriers from wider society have been exposed to alternative ways of life and attitudes, values, and ideas at odds those they had encountered at home (Krätli 2001, Krätli 2000).

Maasai understandings of education and development have likewise informed their contributions and responses to the schooling process. Maasai ideas about education have been shaped by the previous relative neglect of Maasai areas in terms of education

provision. When Engare Naibor Primary School was founded, education was imposed by outsiders on the Maasai by force, and presented as something aimed at changing them and their way of life. Maasai in Engare Naibor, who were unfamiliar with the opportunities formal education had provided for others in Tanzania, and who still felt they had a viable alternative in pastoralism, were consequently opposed to the schooling process. There was a lack of understanding of how schooling could facilitate diversification, and the benefits that could result from that diversification. Maasai made it clear to school-children that behaviour which demonstrated a rejection of pastoralist values or a Maasai identity would bring disapproval. When schooling was first introduced in Engare Naibor, the return of a child from school as unchanged as possible was seen by many Maasai as desirable. The age-set system, which was more intact at that time, also provided alternative identities to that of the schooled person which many found attractive. These factors resulted in those Maasai who left school not valuing a schooled identity, and not seeking to act in 'schooled' ways when they left school, which Maasai at that time generally thought about in very negative terms.

More recently, positively understood ideas about how schooled Maasai should act have been formulated. As in other pastoralist societies around the world, from the Rabari in India (Dyer & Choksi 2001), to the Bedouin in Arabia (Fabietti 2006), the Maasai in Engare Naibor now see schooling as necessary to protect themselves from, manage, and benefit from changes. Schooling has come to be seen by many Maasai in Engare Naibor as offering access to non-pastoral assets. These assets are increasingly sought because of changing perceptions of the viability of pastoralism, and because of increasing awareness of such opportunities for diversification.

The manner in which some schooled Maasai have behaved has led to an increasing understanding that it is possible to negotiate the competing discourses encountered at home and in and around school, benefiting from 'getting out', but at the same time not 'getting lost'. Maasai are incorporating pastoralist values and aspects of a Maasai identity into their ways of being schooled, and are conceptualising and using schooling to try to support and improve pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life.

Maasai in Engare Naibor have been actively engaged with the discursive practices of schooling. Whilst they have taken up some aspects of the discourses of education and development promoted through the schooling process, they have resisted and re-

formulated others. This resistance has been largely in terms of a reluctance to abandon commitment to a Maasai identity, pastoralist values, or the pastoralist way of life. This reluctance is seen both in the behaviour of Maasai who have been to school, and in the behaviour of parents making decisions about sending children to school, many of whom see selective education of a few children as a strategy to benefit from new opportunities whilst maintaining investment in pastoralism.

Maasai in Engare Naibor have been relatively successful in their attempts to resist discourses critical of extensive pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life that the schooling process has promoted. This has been achieved through opposition to the schooling process, which resulted in children sent to school dropping out, absenting themselves, or rebelling against their teachers, as well as being aware that behaving in ways judged to be *irmeek* would bring disapproval from Maasai adults and peers. The extent to which Maasai children's resistance is responsible for schooling not having promoted state and Swahili discourses more effectively, and not having imparted skills such as literacy and fluency in KiSwahili, should not be over-stated. From the accounts of former Maasai pupils, it is apparent that teaching was inadequate, probably due to a lack of resources, as well as a lack of motivation amongst the teachers who worked in these schools. However, as parents and children come to increasingly value education, and children are therefore more engaged with the schooling process, it is likely that alongside the more effective learning of, for example, literacy skills by such children, will come greater receptivity to these discourses. I encountered negative ideas about the way pastoralism is practiced in Engare Naibor, and about the Maasai way of life, more frequently amongst younger people who had been to school than amongst schooled Landiis. This process, whereby children have become more receptive to the discourses promoted through schooling, is recognised by Maasai. For instance, one man told me that,

In the past, education was not cared about. What was known about for children was just livestock care. Now people have become clever. A child will learn. Even a child does not like the cloth (*shuka*) I wear. They only like *irmeek* ways of dressing (Maasai man, Landiis, primary school).

12.4 The implications of schooling for pastoralism and pastoralists' livelihoods

My second aim in this thesis was to understand what the implications and consequences of the schooling process have been for pastoralism and pastoralists' livelihoods, and the pathways and mechanisms through which schooling has shaped livelihood opportunities, constraints, choices, and success.

Many factors including other state policies, NGO projects, population increase, and increasing commercialisation have impacted on pastoralism and pastoralist livelihoods in Engare Naibor. Whilst I acknowledge that some of the changes described in this thesis might have occurred even without large numbers of children going to school, albeit probably more slowly, I have demonstrated the contribution of the schooling process.

I have explored the immediate practical implications of having children in school for those practicing pastoralism. Having children in school has created obstacles to herd mobility, as well as posing challenges for households in satisfactorily meeting herding labour requirements. These changes are likely to have negatively affected pastoral production, especially for poorer households. Having children in school has also added to increasing cash needs to pay for school costs, which have had to be met through the selling of livestock or livestock products or through livelihood diversification.

I have also examined whether having been to school has changed the livelihoods of adults who went to school themselves, and the mechanisms through which the schooling process has resulted in these changes. I have explored the opportunities open to those who have been to school, and how they have come to understand and employ schooling.

The livelihood choices made by some Maasai men who have been to school have changed as schooling has encouraged and facilitated different livelihood options, and with altered understandings of schooling and being schooled. However, many former pupils did not acquire, or did not seek to employ, skills and knowledge from going to school, and many of them do not feel that it has resulted in many changes or improvements for their livelihoods. The lack of statistical significance in the differences between schooled individuals and their unschooled peers for a number of livelihood outcomes is also testament to the nature of the schooling process.

I have investigated the effects schooling has had on pastoralism. As the discourses schooling promotes are being selectively incorporated into the ways Maasai in Engare Naibor understand pastoralism, this is influencing some choices concerning herd management. For instance, there is a common perception that those who have been to school are more willing to sell animals for alternative investment. Some ideas about how pastoralism should be practiced encountered through the curriculum, as well as in Swahili environments, such as the use of new livestock drugs recommended by government ‘experts’, and non-native breeds, have been taken up by those who went to school. However, Maasai in Engare Naibor are trying to use knowledge acquired through going to school, and the gains from activities which the schooling process has encouraged and facilitated them to engage in, to support pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life. In this way they have resisted some aspects of the discourses promoted through the schooling process which denigrate extensive pastoralism and the Maasai way of life and identity.

Schooling has not made the majority of men more successful pastoralists in the eyes of their peers. However, those judged by their peers to be the best pastoralists are by and large those who have benefited the most from their schooling, and have used assets their schooling has helped them to acquire to maintain and increase their herds. A commonly held opinion in Engare Naibor is that education helps people to maintain themselves in pastoralism by providing alternative livelihood strands to support it (people talk about the possibility of increasing one’s herd ‘through the pen’), and this opinion is supported to some degree by the larger average herd sizes amongst ilmarei headed by schooled individuals. Many Maasai in Engare Naibor see education as a way to support pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life. It should be noted that this is in contrast to research findings from some other pastoralist groups in the region and worldwide, where pastoralists see education as providing access to necessary alternatives to pastoralism (Dyer & Choksi 2001, Heffernan et al. 2001), and may reflect the greater perceived viability of pastoralism in Engare Naibor than in these other areas.

Different types of data provide evidence that the schooling process has encouraged and facilitated the uptake and expansion of, and success in agriculture, in particular amongst those of the Landiis age-set, and in Engare Naibor more than in other nearby Maasai areas. When at school, Maasai children have been taught the skills for farming and have been exposed to discourses which might dispose them to farm. This has resulted from

government policies, the actions of teachers who have maintained farms in schools towards their own ends, and from ideas and attitudes expressed by non-Maasai in Mairoua. Many of those who are now trying to act in 'schooled' ways see farming as an important aspect of this identity, and more positive attitudes to cultivation have spread beyond the schooled. However, many Maasai in Engare Naibor have re-interpreted ideas about agriculture promoted through schooling, and see cultivation as a way to support pastoralism, rather than as an alternative to it.

The discourses encountered by Maasai through the schooling process, and skills and knowledge gained, have encouraged and facilitated some of them to engage more in off-land activities. Schooling has resulted in salaried employment, or successful large-scale trading or investment, but only for a very small number of people. For others, especially younger men, schooling has encouraged and facilitated diversification into less well remunerated activities outside the pastoralist sphere. Irkiponi who have been to school have come to dominate the livestock trade amongst this age-set, as well as being over-represented amongst migrants to town. The schooling process has influenced changing ideas about appropriate occupations for ilmurran who have gone to school. As pressures to access cash from off-land sources have increased, and as ideas critical of emurrano have been encountered in and around schools and elsewhere, young men feel less compelled to involve themselves in emurrano activities. Those ilmurran who have been to school feel more able to engage in activities outside the pastoralist sphere, and want to use the eng'eno they feel they got from school in these ways which they have come to view as appropriate for them as schooled people. Many of them currently wish to, as they put it, 'use the little eng'eno they have' to 'collect for *maendeleo*'. Whilst many of the ilmurran engaged in these activities have taken up ideas promoted through schools that are critical of relying exclusively on pastoralism, they invest much of what they earn in livestock. Many of them have longer-term investment plans, but recognise buying livestock to be the most prudent way to save and invest in the short-term, as well as hugely important socially and culturally. Similarly, older men who have been to school have used the assets acquired through the successful diversification schooling has encouraged and facilitated to support their pastoralist livelihoods.

I have considered whether schooling is supporting the livelihoods of pastoralists in Engare Naibor and surrounding areas, and have presented some evidence to suggest that schooling has led to improvements in livelihoods in terms of greater wealth and

incomes. Despite positive trends, much of the quantitative data does not reveal statistically significant differences, although this may be due to small sample sizes. Qualitative data suggest that formal education has helped to improve pastoralists' livelihoods in Engare Naibor through encouraging and facilitating successful diversification into non-pastoral income generating activities and cultivation. Maasai there are using the gains from successful diversification which schooling has promoted to try to support pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life, and this thesis provides some evidence that schooling has been successfully used in this way, at least in the short-term. Schooling is also widely perceived by Maasai in Engare Naibor to have been beneficial for their livelihoods in other ways, for example in facilitating access to medical services, transport, and information.

Evidence concerning the consequences of the schooling process for the longer-term sustainability of pastoralism is less positive. The schooling process has brought practical challenges for pastoralists through constraining mobility, promoting farming, and removing the labour of children, and these changes are likely to have a negative effect on the ability of local people to maintain themselves in pastoralism in the longer-term, as well as on the environmental sustainability of pastoralism as a system. As schooling has become more valued amongst parents and children, it is likely that children will be less able to resist the negative understandings of pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life which are promoted through the schooling process. Because it results in the ideological basis of extensive pastoralism being challenged, the schooling process is not supportive of it in the longer-term.

In this thesis I have considered the diverse pathways and mechanisms through which schooling has resulted in a range of livelihood outcomes. For some, going to school has resulted in the acquisition of literacy, numeracy, and language skills, skills for farming, and other knowledge. How these skills and knowledge have been employed has been influenced by how individuals have understood the purpose of schooling, and what they think are appropriate activities for those who have been to school, as well as by various constraints. These ideas about how schooled individuals should act have been formulated through processes of discursive negotiation. For example, schooled Maasai have often sought to distance themselves from the image of the poor, ignorant, backward pastoralist they have encountered through the schooling process, but have

also been influenced by their parents and peers not to be seen to be acting in irmeek ways.

12.5 Policy relevance

My third aim in this thesis was to demonstrate the relevance of this research for current debates around education for pastoralists. I intended to show what lessons could be drawn from an understanding of the nature and consequences of the schooling process in Engare Naibor.

The idea that education is a neutral technical intervention that will necessarily have only positive effects on livelihoods is still prevalent in the international policy arena. For instance UNESCO states that,

“Education and training are two of the most powerful weapons in the fight against rural poverty and sustainable development” (UNESCO electronic citation).

Despite considerable scientific evidence which suggests that extensive pastoralism is a livelihood system particularly well adapted to the unstable environmental conditions of much of East Africa¹⁸, I have shown that the schooling process in Engare Naibor has been highly ideologically charged, and informed by discourses and agendas not supportive of pastoralism. This thesis can help to further dispel the idea that education is a neutral technical intervention, especially amongst those familiar with debates surrounding pastoralist development, but not necessarily with theoretical work on education. It can encourage a more critical view of education amongst those involved in pastoralist development.

The role of education in pastoral development needs to be debated within Tanzania and beyond. There has been some discussion amongst NGOs and governments about how to alter education provision so that more pastoralist children are enrolled, attend, and pass exams. There have also been some attempts to change education provision towards these ends. This debate needs to be broadened to consider what education should do in

¹⁸ Some of the key publications include Leach and Mearns (1996), Scoones (1994), Behnke and Scoones (1993), and Sandford (1983).

pastoralist areas, and how it ought to be modified in order to achieve these aims. The aspirations of all those involved in and affected by education provision in pastoralist areas should be represented in such a debate.

If schooling is to be supportive of pastoralism and the pastoralist way of life, then this thesis has drawn attention to the need to consider how education is provided, the curriculum, and the ways in which education providers can influence the ‘hidden curriculum’ and the broader schooling process, including the culturally antagonistic nature of school environments. It has also drawn attention to the need to address issues of educational quality in schools in pastoralist areas, although these issues are not unique to pastoralist areas.

The analysis presented in this thesis has revealed that powerful discourses in Tanzania are in opposition to the formulation of specific education policies for pastoralists, and that the Tanzanian government may be reluctant to engage in open debate about the agendas, discourses and assumptions informing the provision of education for pastoralists. However, this thesis can help groups that seek to engage with the Tanzanian government on issues concerning education provision for pastoralists. A clearer understanding of the agendas and discourses informing Tanzanian policy formulation can help such groups in the negotiation process.

The schooling process has influenced pastoralists’ livelihood choices, and thus the nature and viability of pastoralism. I hope that this thesis, through documenting these effects, and how and why the schooling process has had these effects, can inform and stimulate current debate around the future of education provision for pastoralists in Tanzania and beyond.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Olmarei No: _____

Project: Livelihoods Consequences of Formal Education for Maasai Pastoralists

Institution: University College London

Researcher: Elizabeth Bishop

Date:	Interviewers:
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Olmarei Name:	Interviewee(s):
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Eji enkarna ai Elizabeth. Ainguaa Uingereza. Aasita enkikilikuanare naipirta eramatare oo inkishu o inkoitoi naa-pokieki too l-Maasai, o inkebelekenyat naatotiutuo te na luboto, naa ainyoo pee atotiutuo neija. Ayieu naaipart inkikilikuanat naaipirta olmarei lino, o kaku siaaitin oshi eas, o eneiko te neramat inkishu. Eya kuna kikilikuanat esaa nabo. Aomon injooki maiparishore.

- First complete non-shaded part. List all people **usually** living in the olmarei (including children away at school, but not those moved away permanently). Ensure ALL residents are enumerated.
- Then complete shaded part for ADULTS ONLY (circumcised).
 - For each “ADULT” resident, find out whether they do any of the occupations listed below.
 - Government position (specify)
 - Other/traditional leadership position (specify)
 - Salaried employment (specify)
 - Working outside kitongoji (specify)
 - Casual work within kitongoji
 - Livestock trading
 - Other trading within kitongoji
 - Other trading outside kitongoji
 - For all “ADULTS” enumerated who were born here, or came pre-circumcision, get information on **adult** siblings (same mother).

Olmarei No: _____

All residents								Adults		Occupations (see list)				Siblings (of same mother) (collect sib info only if born here or came pre-circumcision)					
														Brothers			Sisters		
No.	Name	Relationship to olmarei head	Sex	Age-set	Age	Highest education level	At school now? Which school?	Born here?	Came pre-circumcision?	Occupation	Occupation	Occupation	Occupation	Total including olmarei resident	In Kitong'oi	Outside Kitong'oi	Total including olmarei resident	In Kitong'oi	Outside Kitong'oi
1																			
2																			
3																			
4																			
5																			
6																			
7																			
8																			
9																			
10																			
11																			
12																			
13																			
14																			
15																			
16																			
17																			
18																			
19																			
20																			

Olmarei No: _____

Olmarei resident(s)	Emigrated sibling						
	Sex	Age-set	Highest education level	Current residence	Why went	Current occupation if known	Expected to return? (Y/N)

If any of the children listed on page 2 are not living in their natal olmarei, where is their natal olmarei?

Resident child number	Where is natal olmarei? (if within kitongoji, give olmarei number)	What is he/she doing here?

Do any of the women resident in the olmarei have any pre-circumcision children who are not in the olmarei? Where? (Children, whether circumcised or not, who are away at school should be recorded on page 2).

Mother (number)	Child sex	Child age	Within kitongoji (Y/N)	Where? (if within kitongoji, give olmarei number)	What doing/ at school?

Olmarei No: _____

Does the olmarei have any other source of money or goods?

Source of income/goods	Who is responsible

Olmarei No: _____

How many animals do you own? How many of these animals are 'improved' breeds? How many of these animals are vaccinated against ECF? In the last year, how many animals have you sold/ bought/ given out or lent/ borrowed or been received/ been born/ died?

[illegible]

If any animals were sold, which month were they sold, and what was the money used for?

[illegible]

Olmarei No: _____

In the last year, has your olmarei kept animals in this enkang for someone else? Y ____ N ____

How many animals of which kinds (use categories on page 5)? _____

Whose animals? _____

What are this person's occupations? _____

In the last year, has your olmarei herded animals with those of another olmarei? Y ____ N ____

If so, which one? (Give ilmarei numbers) _____

In the last year, did this olmarei pay anyone (either in cash or in kind) for herding or other livestock related work? If so, how were they paid?

Worker	Educated	How paid?

In the last year, did anyone from this olmarei get paid (either in cash or in kind) for herding or other livestock related work? If so, how were they paid?

Worker	Educated	How paid?

Olmarei No: _____

Who herded your livestock/ the group in which your livestock are herded in the last year? If they have not yet been mentioned, please explain the arrangement. (Refer to olmarei list)

	Who herds (see olmarei list)
Adult cattle	
Young animals	
Goats and Sheep	

Did any olmarei residents shift with any of your animals in the last year and stay with them? Y __ N __

Did you shift any of your animals last year and leave them with non olmarei residents? Y __ N __

If not, why not? _____

Did anyone in your olmarei cultivate last year? Y __ N __

How many acres of farmland does your olmarei have access to (both here and elsewhere)? _____

How many acres did your olmarei plant last year (indicate if crops were planted in the short rains)? _____

If your olmarei did not plant all the land it had access to/owns, why not? _____

How much did you harvest this year?

	Sacks	Debes
Maize		
Beans		
Others		

If you sold crops, what was the money used for? _____

Olmarei No: _____

In the last year, have you used any of these inputs for your farm?

Improved Seeds	Pesticides

In the last year, did your olmarei take on non-family to help with farm work? If so, how were they paid? (prompt for embesi)

Worker	Educated	How paid?

In the last year, did anyone from this olmarei get paid (in cash or in kind) for farm work? If so, how were they paid?

Worker	Educated	How paid?

Y _____ N _____

Y _ N _

FILL IN AFTER INTERVIEW: Rate the quality of this interview

Bad	OK	Good

Notes:

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There is no handwriting or other markings on the paper.